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121 114 It follows that this is in no sense a complete ethnographic account of even one community of Sarakatsani, let alone a survey of Sarakatsan culture in general. Mme Chatzimichalis has published the first volume of a work which will represent, when it is completed, the fullest possible account of Sarakatsan folklore and material culture. It is a pleasure to acknowledge my debt to her work which goes far beyond the few references noted in this book. Where there appear to be disagreements between us these are generally accounted for by the circumstance that, as a folklorist, Mme Chatzimichalis' object is to describe Sarakatsan life and culture in its most traditional [101] form. My own study, on the other hand, is concerned with only certain aspects of a particular community of Sarakatsani as I discovered it in 1954 and 1955.

128 114 Various incidents in this book describe the illegal acts of some individuals, or the social humiliation of others; and most of the information I received from Sarakatsani was certainly regarded by them as confidential. I have therefore taken what [101] steps I can to cover personal identities. Although I lived among Sarakatsani in a number of villages in Zagori, the greater part of the material used in this study concerns the Sarakatsani who graze the land of one particular village in central Zagori. To this village I have given the fictitious name of Neochori. Similarly I have changed all personal names.

122 It is impossible, unfortunately, to acknowledge all the many instances of help and hospitality I have received at various times. There are original debts of gratitude to Mr. W. A. Camps who persuaded the Ministry of Education to support my research when they had virtually decided otherwise; and to my father who supplemented this grant at times of crisis to make it barely possible to carry out the necessary fieldwork. At an early moment of indecision in Greece I received a letter from Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard which advised me to join the Sara-
128 katsani. In retrospect, I owe much to this. I have to thank Dr. J. G. Peristiany for his constant encouragement, and for many discussions which have radically affected the form of this book particularly in connexion with my analysis of Sarakatsan values. My gratitude is due to Dr. J. M. Beattie and Dr. Rodney Needham who read the manuscript and offered many invaluable criticisms and suggestions. I also wish to thank Sir Maurice

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Bowra, Dr. K. O. L. Burridge, Mr. E. Katsaros, Dr. R. G. Lienhardt, Mr. Zisimos Lorenzatos, and Dr. Philip Sherrard who read and commented on particular chapters. And to the Warden and Fellows of St. Antony's College I express my appreciation for their patient support and encouragement.

It was my misfortune that feelings over the Cyprus issue became particularly embittered shortly after I began my fieldwork, with the result that my relations with the local authorities were always difficult. My movements were restricted and under surveillance. I was seldom able to persuade local officials to provide me with, or to help me obtain, any kind of quantitative or statistical information. Indeed, it is certain that without the generous support of the deputy Prime Minister Mr. Panayiotis Canellopoulos, I would not have been allowed to remain. Within a week of his leaving office I was ordered to remove myself from the area and on this abrupt note my fieldwork ended. If one remembers the unhappy atmosphere which then existed, it would be unreasonable to complain of the reaction of some Greek officials and individuals to my presence and my suspect work. It is with all the more gratitude that I remember the kindness and practical assistance of many Greek friends, which they did not always give without risk. Particularly I wish to mention Mr. Sotiris Dakaris of the Greek Archaeological Service, and his wife. My debt to the Sarakatsani will be obvious from this book; and to none is it greater than to my friend Theodoros Gogolos.

I dedicate this book to my wife, Sheila Campbell, who shared the fieldwork in physical and political conditions which were often unpleasant, and who first won the confidence of a secretive people.

J.K.C.

Kifissia.
May 1962.

During my fieldwork I was visited by the Greek photographer 'Dimitri' and I am grateful for permission to use some of the photographs he took on those occasions. I am similarly grateful to Mr. Roger Vaternelle who prepared the map; and to Professor Bernard Kayser who made it possible for him to do so.

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Byzantine period. But it may also be used, in its original and more specific sense, to describe Koutsovlachs (Κουτσοβλάχοι) an ethnic minority group speaking a romance language akin to Rumanian, or the related groups of Albanian Vlachs ('Αρβανιτοβλάχοι) who are trilingual, speaking the Koutsovlach language as their mother tongue and Greek and Albanian for political and commercial reasons. These different connotations of the word, Vlach, have led to some confusion, which has been all the greater because many Koutsovlachs lead a transhumant shepherd life, identical in its general outline with that of the Sarakatsani. To the uninitiated eye they may appear to dress alike, to build the same type of thatched hut, and many of their communities graze their flocks in areas of the Pindus mountains neighbouring on those used by the Sarakatsani. The result has been that many nineteenth-century travellers, and even some [114] Greek observers, failed to realize the existence of the Sarakatsani and imagined that all 'nomad' shepherds were Koutsovlachs of one kind or another.

But although many Koutsovlachs are transhumant shepherds, many are not. For instance, in the eastern half of the Zagori district in Epirus, a majority of the Koutsovlach villagers make their living from timber and agriculture. Probably since the sixteenth century[3] a considerable number of Koutsovlachs have been established in their own villages in the high Pindus. They have pretensions to culture, and for generations sons of rich Koutsovlach families have been prepared for commerce, politics, and the professions. In these respects the Koutsovlachs differ from the Albanian Vlachs who, in so far as they continue to be recognized as 'Albanian', are generally concerned only with shepherding. Some of these Albanian Vlachs have grazing areas close to the Albanian frontier which until 1930 they were able to cross in their search for winter pastures.

With both these ethnic minority groups, Koutsovlachs and Albanian Vlachs, the Sarakatsani are culturally contrasted. They speak only Greek; their values, institutions, and art forms are in many respects markedly dissimilar from those of the Koutsovlachs and Albanian Vlachs. They themselves claim that the klephtic heroes Katsandonis and Karaïskakis were

[3] See A. J. B. Wace and M. S. Thompson, *Nomads of the Balkans*, London, 1914, p. 147.

[i.e., The term "Vlachs"... Analyst]

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Sarakatsani, and they believe that in blood and heroism their own contribution to the freedom of Greece was incomparable. At the same time they explicitly question the loyalty of the Koutsovlachs[4] or Albanian Vlachs, accusing them in the recent wars of collaboration or communist affiliations. Although they share a similar type of economy there is no sympathy between Sarakatsani and these other shepherds. They envy the Koutsovlachs for their relative affluence and their established villages. And they are hostile to the Albanian Vlachs, because it is particularly with these groups that many Sarakatsani must compete for the limited areas of winter grazing land. Even the flesh of an Albanian Vlach, they say, does not smell like that of a Christian.[5] Intermarriage with these people is unknown and between the more traditional Sarakatsani and Koutsovlachs it is, at least, very rare.

In recent decades the problem of the origin of the Sarakatsan communities has provoked a considerable amount of writing. Interest was aroused more particularly after the publication in 1925 of a brilliant linguistic study of the Sarakatsan dialect by the Danish scholar, Carsten Höeg.[6] In the opening chapters of this work Höeg gives some ethnographic details of the communities he visited and presents a theory that these shepherds are the descendants of primitive pastoral tribes, which he believes must always have existed in this part of Greece from pre-classical times.[7] This view was naturally well received by Greek folklorists and historians. For equally obvious reasons it was strongly disputed by a number of Rumanian writers and publicists, of whom perhaps Theodor Capidan is the best known. Before the 1939–45 war these writers, continuing in a long tradition of Rumanian nationalist propaganda, were eager to stress the relationship between Rumanians and Koutsovlachs. (Indeed, even before the beginning of this century schools had been subsidized by Rumanian funds in the larger Koutsovlach

[4] In fact, from the period of the Revolution the contribution of the Koutsovlachs to the Greek State both in wealth and talent has been very considerable.

[5] Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. νη'.

[6] Carsten Höeg, *Les Saracatsans. Étude linguistique*, 2 vols., Paris and Copenhagen, 1925 and 1926.

[7] P. Aravandinos had already made this claim in 1903. Π. Ἀραβαντινός, *Μονογραφία περὶ Κουτσοβλάχων*, Athens, 1903, p. 38.

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villages.) But Capidan[8] and his followers also claimed that the Sarakatsani, far from being the descendants of ancient Greek tribesmen, were not Greeks at all, but Rumanian Koutsovlachs who in comparatively recent times had become hellenized.[9] The complete absence of any reference in Byzantine authors, or in writers of chronicles as late as the eighteenth century, to any communities of shepherds known as Sarakatsani, only increased the temptation to wild flights of speculative fancy by both sides to this controversy. In the absence of any certain historical data much of the argument centred around the interpretation of what little the Sarakatsani themselves had to say about their past, and a number of ingenious but quite improbable solutions to the etymology of the name Sarakatsanos.[10]

The various problems which surround the origins of the Sarakatsani may never find definitive solutions. The affairs of unlettered shepherds were not considered important by classical, Byzantine, or mediaeval writers. The probability that, as a consequence of the existing conditions of climate and relief, transhumant pastoralism of one kind or another has, from the earliest times, been a feature of Greek country life, has no doubt discouraged curiosity and comment. A hundred years ago a significantly higher proportion of the country people lived by the herding of sheep and goats, whether they belonged to genuinely transhumant communities, or to established villages which sent away their animals for six months of the year under the care of shepherds whose families remained in the village. It is only in the last fifty years that, with closer settlement and more intensive agriculture, groups of transhumant shepherds have become a somewhat anomalous element in Greek country life. But the emergence of the different Balkan nationalities is the factor which essentially explains this sudden interest in wandering shepherds. Before and after the Balkan Wars (1912–13),

[8] See Theodor Capidan, 'Saracacianii', *Dacoromania*, 1924–6, vol. 4, pp. 923-59.

[9] Cf. C. Jirec'ek, *Das Fürstentum Bulgarien*, Vienna, 1891, p. 118.

[10] A lucid review of these different solutions is found in an article by Δημ. Γεωργακᾶς, «Περὶ τῶν Σαρακατσαναίων τῆς Θράκης», *Ἀρχεῖον τοῦ Θρακικοῦ Λαογραφικοῦ καὶ Γλωσσικοῦ Θησαυροῦ*, 1945–6, vol. 12, pp. 105–28. The second part of this article, 1947–8, vol. 14, pp. 193 ff., is concerned with other aspects of the problem of origin.

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folklorists and historians struggled with patriotic inventiveness to provide historical and ethnological evidence for the advance or validation of their various national frontiers in areas which under the unity imposed by the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires had become an inextricable patchwork of different ethnic and religious groups. The Sarakatsani were one element in this complex pattern. For under Turkish rule their seasonal migrations had led many of them across limits that were later to become the frontiers of Greece, with Albania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Turkey.

In these debates the Greeks and their supporters present the more convincing argument. They suggest that if the Sarakatsani were recently hellenized Koutsovlachs they would preserve at least some traces of a foreign origin in their language and customs. But Höeg has shown[11] that neither phonetically, nor in terms of grammatical structure, are there traces of Koutsovlach elements in the dialect spoken by the Sarakatsani. He also claims that the dialects of the Sarakatsani in Epirus, Macedonia, and Thessaly present a linguistic unity.[12] If the various groups of Sarakatsani had, indeed, been recently hellenized one would have expected them to speak the local dialect of the province in which they now find their grazing lands; and this is not the case. And he properly adds to these linguistic arguments information about the different marriage customs of the two groups.[13]

Where Höeg has used linguistic and ethnographic criteria, Mme Chatzimichalis also emphasizes the unity of Sarakatsan art forms,[14] which are simple, static, and geometric, do not vary from one province to another, and in the absence of naturalistic expression differ radically from those of the Koutsovlachs.

But the rebuttals by both these authors of the opinion that Sarakatsani are hellenized Koutsovlachs are only the preliminaries to their own more general theory that the Sarakatsani are the direct descendants of shepherd communities of preclassical Greece—a claim which it is equally difficult to prove

[11] Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, p. 78.
[12] Ibid., vol. i, preface, p. VIII.
[13] Ibid., vol. i, p. 81.
[14] Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ϱ'.

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or disprove. Mme Chatzimichalis believes that they are a people, who, in their pastoral way of life, social organization, and art, show forth certain prototypical elements of early Greek culture.[15] She is much impressed, for instance, by the similarities between the motifs of Sarakatsan decorative art and those of the 'geometric' style of pre-classical Greece.

Professor Höeg claims that a comparison of the Sarakatsan dialect with the other dialects of continental Greece[16] suggests that it was formed some four or five centuries ago. Arrived at this point in time he observes that although the peoples which invaded the Balkans during the Middle Ages, i.e. the Slavs, Bulgars, Turks, and Tartars, were all of nomadic origin, they rapidly changed to an agricultural economy as soon as they were established in Europe. Further, it is only in quite exceptional circumstances that sedentary populations revert to nomadism. The Sarakatsan material culture, he argues, shows no trace of sedentary origins; on the contrary it follows with precision and simplicity from the conditions of transhumant life in a particular physical environment. And on the other hand Höeg is able to supply literary evidence[17] that forms of transhumance existed in classical and Hellenistic Greece; particularly in northern and north-western Greece. By a form of argument *ex ignorantia* we arrive at the conclusion that the Sarakatsani, a people without history, must always have lived in more or less the same conditions and areas as we find them today.

As is proper for a social anthropologist not concerned with the problem of origins, my own more limited conclusion is that in their social values and institutions, the Sarakatsani, as they exist today, provide no evidence of a past history that was ever anything but Greek. They still hold to what villagers now describe as 'the old customs', moral attitudes in family and community which a hundred years ago were general throughout Greek mountain communities, and still persist today, although now in conflict with other values of urban and alien origins.

[15] Ibid., vol. i, Part A, in the section 'Sarakatsani, nomads since ancient times?'

[16] Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, pp. 82 ff.

[17] For instance; Sophocles, Oedipus Rex, line 1135 ff.; Arrian, Anabasis, VII.9.2.

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2. THE SARAKATSANI OF ZAGORI

The community of Sarakatsan shepherds which I describe in this study numbers about 4,000 souls.[18] In summer they are found in Zagori, a mountainous district north-east of the town of Jannina on the western limits of the Pindus range in the province of Epirus. Here they graze their sheep and goats from May until the early days of November; or as they would calculate it, between the feast-days of St. George and St. Demetrius which mark their seasonal migrations between plain and mountain (and are celebrated according to the old Julian calendar, that is, on the 6th May and the 8th November by the new calendar). In each Zagori village with high grasslands there is a local gathering of Sarakatsan families which exploit the grazing land of the community and add to it a summer population of 100–300 men, women, and children. Since 1938 the majority of these shepherd families have enjoyed the same citizenship and grazing rights as the sedentary villagers of Zagori from whom previously they had to rent their pastures. There are 152,000 sheep and goats in the Zagori of which 85,000 sheep and 13,000 goats belong to the Sarakatsani.[19] Although the eastern villages of the district are Koutsovlach in speech and sentiment very few of their inhabitants are, any longer, transhumant shepherds, and the pastures of these villages are used by the Sarakatsani, who indeed occupy almost all the higher pastures of the district, grazing their flocks on the lands of 30 of the 43 villages which today constitute Zagori; the remaining villages are low lying (where it is easier to keep animals throughout the year), or they are without extensive areas of grass.

In the winter the community is more widely dispersed. The Sarakatsani move down from the mountains to the coastal plains and valleys over an area which extends from the Albanian frontier as far south as the towns of Arta and Preveza and even beyond.

[18] There are no census details for the Sarakatsani as such. And police restriction on my movements prevented me from carrying out a complete survey of all the sheep villages in Zagori. However, on the basis of my own incomplete figures and information supplied by the Ministry of Agriculture for pastoralism in Zagori generally, this figure is most unlikely to be far from the truth.

[19] Thus there are 24·5 sheep and goats per head of population among the Zagori Sarakatsani.

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Note: Although a number of anthropological studies of Greek rural communities have been made in recent years, little of this work has yet been published. Ernestine Friedl, *Vasilika: A Village in Modern Greece*, New York, 1962, is a short but perceptive study of a village in the Boeotian plain. Irwin T. Sanders, *Rainbow in the Rock: The People of Rural Greece*, Cambridge Mass., 1962, is a useful general survey by a rural sociologist.

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THE ATLANTIC EXTRA

THE BLACK DEPARTERS

An Adventure in Greece

BY PATRICK LEIGH FERMOR

PATRICK LEIGH FERMOR was one of two young British officers who led one of the most spectacular individual exploits of World War II. Wearing the uniform of German noncoms, they kidnapped a German general, hid him in the hills of Crete, eluded weeks of search by the Germans, and delivered him to the British command at Cairo. Here Mr. Fermor tells of his adventures with the Sarakatsáns, a group of nomads who wander over northern Greece.

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484 291 pompon covering the front of the foot. The thick soles were clouted, and the nails grated underfoot. Gazing straight ahead, he loped along the middle 10[of the road, as though to keep as far as possible [233] from the contaminating houses. A long shepherd's [413] staff, whose crook was a tortuously carved wooden snake, was laid across his shoulders. His arms were [402] looped over it in the cruciform position in which many mountaineers carry their crooks and their guns. He was a Sarakatsán. Heads turned as he passed, and the smack of cards and the clatter of backgammon counters died down for a few moments. I got up and dogged his steps at a discreet distance.

● [114] Sarakatsáns have always filled me with awe. I first saw these primeval Greek nomads years ago when I was walking across Bulgaria, on my way [342] to Constantinople. A gathering of beehive-shaped [131] huts were scattered over the wintry hills slanting 233 to the Black Sea. Brushwood folds ran up the green slopes, and thousands of shaggy black goats and sheep grazed over the rainy landscape, their heavy bronze bells filling the air with a many-toned and harmonious jangle. Here and there among them, like dark monoliths under the wheeling crows, their herdsmen leaned on their lance-[291] long crooks; their faces were almost lost in the deep hoods of high-shouldered goat's-hair capes that

reached to the ground, capes of so coarse a weave and so stiff with rain that they looked as though their incumbents could almost step forth and leave them standing like sentry boxes. I next saw them in March the following year, when I was riding across Greek Macedonia and stayed a night in one of their smoky wigwams. Since then I had seen them again and again, all over northern Greece, in the plains in winter and in the mountains in summer, but always on the skyline or in the middle distance. True nomads, these self-appointed Ishmaels hover on the outskirts of ordinary Greek life as fleetingly as a mirage, only manifesting themselves to ordinary mortals in far-away glimpses. Suddenly, at a ravine's twist far from the scorched lowlands, one comes across their impermanent hamlets of conical huts on high ledges of the Pindus and the Rhodope mountains and in the sierras of Roumeli; and in winter, gazing down from the snows that have banished them, one can discern their clustering huts in the plains, the ascending smoke, and the slowly grazing flocks.

Every spring their beasts and their long caravans of horses, laden with all they possess, can be seen winding up into the thawed mountains, or halted around a sudden village of somber tents, to stream downhill again later to the withered autumnal plains which the rains will soon turn green. One discovers them binding lopped branches and osier twigs into the hemispherical skeletons of the huts which will house them for the season; shelters whose blackened and molting thatch will later mark where they have settled for a few months and vanished from again. Sometimes a far-off barking and the murmur of bells hint at their presence deep in the ilex woods or along a dazzling canyon where nothing stirs except, perhaps, a pair of floating eagles. Besides these rare apparitions, this fugitive community of about eighty thousand souls and of flocks amounting to several million head seems to have the gift of invisibility.

Unlike the seminomads of Greece — the Koutzovlachs and the Karagounis, who all have mountain villages from which to migrate and to which they return after their half-yearly journeys in search of winter pasture — the Sarakatsáns have nothing more solid than their abodes of wicker and rush. All of them, however, look to some range of mountains, some fold or cordillera where they have grazed their flocks for centuries of summers, as their home. Their lowland pastures are more variable, an uncertain sojourn with few claims on their allegiance. At the turn of the century the Sarakatsáns of northern Greece were the

Sikarayia Village

585 By the light of the fires among the huts, the scene out of doors was assuming a Brueghelish aspect. The dancers were still sedately moving in silhouette, a last spitted lamb was turning over a bed of glowing charcoal, and groups of nomads were staggering about arm in arm, filling the night with cries and laughter. Overcome by wine or exhaustion, a few of them lay fast asleep under the branches in disjointed attitudes, as though snipers had laid them low in mid-career. A heroic but unsteady figure, egged on by his companions, was draining, with head and trunk flung back, the last dregs from an immense wicker-cradled demijohn. Empty, it fell to the ground with a thud and rolled away amid cheers. A flaxen-haired boy, bent double against a tree trunk, vomited the day's intake in a somber gush. Chewing and snarling sheep dogs wrangled over bones.
[354] The huts, vague globes looming out of the night, were now softly lit from within by the glimmer of oil dips and hearths. Deeper still in the darkness, one divined the presence of tethered horses. The singing grew fainter as we reached the railway line.

585 178 "You should have seen the weddings when I was a boy," Barba Petro was saying, as the serpent of lighted train windows grew larger down the valley. "We used to set out on horseback a hundred strong to carry off the bride, firing off our guns as fast as we could load them. *Dang! Dang! Boom! Boom! Dang!* Horses used to be lamed, people wounded, sometimes people actually got killed. Whereas now —"

123 The train had clanked to a standstill beside us. We were aloft once more among the anachronistic fringes and tassels of our Victorian carriage.

"Come to see us up in the mountains, up in the Rhodope!" he shouted as the train began to move. "The plains are no good." He pointed with his crook into the night. "Up in the Rhodope —"

The wheels drowned the rest. The light from the carriage windows flashed down across his dwindling figure at quicker intervals, and the glimmering huts and the fires and the tiny moving silhouettes behind him looked as strange now and as alien to Europe as a nomadic encampment in the steppes of central Asia.

● 114 WHAT I could not know about these extraordinary people at the time of my visit to Sikarayia, I learned two years ago, when Mrs. Angelica Hadjimichalis' two quarto volumes, *I Sarakatsáni*, appeared. A long lifetime of devotion and study, a great knowledge of the Greek past and Greek art history, and many decades of research and fieldwork among the Sarakatsáns themselves have been

lavished on these books. A third volume is in preparation — the great task, alas, has been delayed by ill health — which promises to be the most interesting of the three.

The author is now advanced in years, and the bulk of her exploration, perforce, was undertaken some time ago, and many of the nomads among whom her researches began were chosen on account of their age and their long memories. Since then, the agents of detribalization, of which the author writes so sadly, have been hard at work. The last quarter of a century has probably done more than the last three thousand years to change the traditional life of the Sarakatsáns. It is amazing that so many clans have remained intact. Yet even among these, which are fortunately still the majority by far, the last few decades have taken toll of many ancient ways. The life described, then, in *I Sarakatsáni* is truer of forty years ago, when the nomads still had no documents or *état civil*, and when schools, state religion, taxes, and military service were unknown to them, than of today. It is a record of their life before the virus of disintegration attacked them, and a fascinating and curious picture it presents.

The pre-Christian legacy, all over Greece, is never far from the surface. Among the Sarakatsáns pagan magic survives in a yet more pronounced shape, and the superstructure of Christian form, owing to the remoteness of the nomads from the normal sources of doctrine and practice, is correspondingly more shaky.

Traditionally, in Sarakatsán dogma there is no awareness of the existence of the Trinity: God the Father and Jesus are considered the same Person, and He is known as *Aï*, which is a dialect abbreviation of *ayios* (*hagios*), the word for "saint" or "holy one." Sometimes He is known as *Proto Aï*, or "First among the Saints," and sometimes as *Aphenti*, "the Lord," from the ancient Greek word *authentes*. All over Greece, the army of saints has taken the place of the ancient polytheistic pantheon. This is especially true among the nomads; *Aï's* status is only a little higher than that of the first among His peers, and, as one would expect in a severely masculine and patriarchal society, male saints have cornered the high places in this celestial company. But their numbers have been drastically reduced: only a handful, from the thousands of Orthodox saints who overlap and crowd each other in the villagers' calendars and the synaxary, have found their way into the wigwams.

All the usual Panhellenic spirits — Pagan or Airy Ones, Exotics, Shadowy Ones, vampires, werewolves, dragons, ghosts, and the Kallikantzaros centaur — people the Sarakatsán cosmogony and infest the folds. They can be exorcised by counterspells and baffled by phylacteries of dogs'

[p. 82-B]

from the grave and haunts the folds and blights the pastures.

A recent unpublished source casts new light on the obscure drama of nomad marriages. I have mentioned in reference to the Mani the sword which, by sympathetic magic, is said to cleave asunder the bonds of fear and shyness between the two married strangers when they are finally alone together. In Sarakatsán embraces, a blade plays a still more immediate role. Alone in the hut, lying on cut branches padded with blankets — for there is never a bridal bed or a sheet and only the strictest minimum of undressing — the groom, with a sudden masterful swoop, leaps athwart the bride, seizes her by the scruff of her neck, and with bared teeth and burning eyes, lays the edge of a dagger at her throat. Most strangely, this time-honored stratagem works; timidity boils up into hot blood on either side, confusion is ripped to shreds, the dagger is flung away, and the union is driven home and fiercely clinched in a lightning tussle.

The nomad approach to all feminine physiological troubles is primitive, deep, and dark. They never undress — all exposure is anathema to them — and there is some truth in the village rumors that they never wash. Oddly, they scarcely smell at all, perhaps because of the time-stiffened carapace of clothing which encases them. The author of the unpublished material I have already mentioned was present at the death of an old Sarakatsánissa. There was no [illegible] the thick geometric livery in which she was cocooned, so it was torn open with a knife, sending the bystanders reeling back like the people depicted on icons at the Raising of Lazarus. When she marries, a girl is no longer a member of her own family, and sometimes she never sees it again; she is a slave to her husband and his womenfolk, a stranger in strangers' tents. It was the rule in the stern old days that no wife should address her husband in the first years of her marriage; he, in his turn, would never call her by name; and many years and many births had to pass before they would converse in public.

Charon, Death, is a permanent presence and the most natural of companions. A nomad who perishes in the mountains goes unhouseled and unaneled. If he should die on the road — and the nomads' two yearly migrations, geared to the slow gait of the flocks, may take twenty-five or thirty days — he is laid across a pack beast, and after the body is unloaded, a candle is lit for him three evenings running and a cup of wine placed "for his soul to drink from." If a *tsellingas* falls mortally ill, the bells are muffled; and if he dies, all the animals, even the bellwethers, are disarmed in mourning. When men turn fifty and women thirty, all the nomads, however hale they are,

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181 by sun, wind, rain, snow, and hail. They give more than an impression, during their occasional descents to the lowlands, of their enemies the wolves, and, still more, of eagles. They live beyond the reach of the authorities, and the division between pastoral life and lawlessness is often vague. They spell, in fact, independence and inviolacy. Wherever they are to be found in the Greek peninsula, these mountaineers represent exemption; and the most unhampered and nonconformist of all, except for their private and tribal strait-jackets of untransgressable behavior, are the Sarakatsáns. They belong to an older and shaggier scene than the Arcadian dream and Greek Sicily. They predate and survive both the idyll and the eclogue.

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114 I first caught a glimpse of them in December,
[101] when I was nineteen, on the Black Sea coast of
G Bulgaria between Varna and Burgas, and I saw
[669] them again in early spring four months later near the Struma River in Macedonia, during the Venizelist revolution of 1935, after the battle at the bridge of Orliàko.

For reasons I will not describe here, I found myself trotting eastward through the late March afternoon along the road to Serres and Drama, on a borrowed horse with a friendly squadron of light cavalry in the victorious army of General Kondylis. We were slightly in advance of the main royalist army, which, with its cannon and infantry and trucks and wagons and baggage train, snaked away behind us in a long loop of dust. The march had turned into something of a carnival. After the musketry fire from both banks of the river and shelling from the hills behind and a minimum of casualties on either side, resistance had caved in and our opponents were surrendering or dispersing eastward. The day had culminated, for my new friends and for me, in the moment when they had actually drawn their sabers and galloped thunderously and bloodlessly across the wooden bridge of Orliàko against an already vanished enemy, in the nearest any of us would ever get to a cavalry charge. Buoyed up along the road by exhilaration and relief, my companions were singing music-hall songs from Athens. Unslinging their
S carbines, they took potshots from the saddle at the
[361] birds on the telegraph lines. Suddenly, beyond the heads of all these cheerful horsemen, on a high wooded ridge about three miles away, loomed a string of those dark wigwams that had interested me in December, and I decided to defect from my companions for a night and (one horseman moving faster than an army) catch up with them next day by shortcuts across the mountains. After lighthearted farewells and shouted rendezvous for drinking together in Serres and Drama and Komotini, I watched them jingle away with their

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114 steel scabbards clinking against their spurs; and then pounded off over the plain toward the hills and the far-sounding goat bells.

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233 WHEN, suddenly, at the heart of a deafening whirlpool of half-wild dogs, I drew rein at the camp toward sunset, it turned out to be a *stani* of about fifty huts scattered among the trees around a spring. The whole place was alive with golden evening dust and bleating and barking and bells. The ewes and the she-goats, followed by their shrill young, were being driven with crooks and shouts and ear-sundering whistles and the heckling of dogs into a great semicircular pen of wicker and woven thorns and thatch on a steep slope. Once inside, they were herded toward a narrow lych-gate at one end of it, where they were seized by their horns, their tails, or their hind legs, clamped back to front between a shepherd's knees, and milked under protest, a few deft seconds for each captive, into bronze caldrons. Despite my brief acquaintance with Greece, I knew that strange arrivals in country places unloose a friendly hubbub of curiosity and inquisition. Not so here. The aloof drovers doubled the diligence of their tasks; their shouts became louder, the milking more urgent. For the first time, I saw these Biblical men at close range; their black cloaks and their hoods gave them the look of Benedictines who had gone native. There were glimpses, too, of the amazing magpie geometry of the women rising from their dim looms and appearing for a moment in the threshold of the smoke-plumed cones. An authoritative old man with a sweeping mustache and an elaborate crook finally silenced the dogs and asked me what I wanted. I could understand little of what he said; I had spent the two previous months, my first in Greece, in snowy Mount Athos, trying to convert my imperfect ancient Greek into the rudiments of the modern, and the Sarakatsán dialect was a further barrier. When they had gathered that, in spite of patched breeches and puttees, I was not a soldier — no sword or gun! — in fact, a foreigner from England, alone, and too young and as yet unpredatory-looking to be capable of much harm, their reserve began to thaw.

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169 What was going on? They pointed down at the army glinting across the plain below through its long cocoon of dust, and the blast of a trumpet came softly to our ears. What had all that noise been about, over by the Struma? *Bam-boum-boum? Rat-tat-tat-tat? N'tang n'tang?* I gleaned with surprise from their half-understood questions that they had only the roughest notion of what was afoot. They knew that there had been a *kinema* —

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121 that is passing completes its ruin in its last representatives, but it is essential for society that their experience be recorded, for in ten years or in a hundred all that will remain will be an aspect of human consciousness masked but not obliterated by modern life, lacking any evidence other than that gathered by ethnology.

To reason coldly is, furthermore, not characteristic of ethnology which must experience its evidence directly: life is inseparable from affective warmth when one works with human material. Georges Kavadias has lived his experience of the Sarakatsani with his heart and with his intelligence, each in turn becoming the servant of the other. Having [114] seen him, with his wife, in the field, I know what passionate solicitude he brought to the research, and I know all that the present book represents in years of direct collecting followed by those of formulation. About this strange world of transhumant shepherds of Balkan and Hellenic Europe we had only data that were fragmentary and relatively inaccessible. It is the first time that a work on this subject appears in a perspective which includes all the spheres of life and their relationships. May it fulfill the role which its author hoped for it: to be at once a homage to the world of the Sarakatsani and an element in the construction of a true image of man.

André Leroi-Gourhan,
Professor at the Sorbonne.

3: Kabbadias--5 E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

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Geographical sites where our investigation was carried out [are indicated by numbered dots.]

p.xi

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16. T. Capidan: "Sărăcăclanii," (Compte rendu sur C. Höeg), p. 923 f.

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114 However, none of these authors has been able to bring forward convincing proof in support of their theory about the foreign origin of the Sarakatsani. On the contrary, between Sarakatsani life and that of Rumanians, Arumani, Turks or Albanians there is no affinity or resemblance that would permit such a conclusion. The Hellenization of the Sarakatsani in the course of time, which these authors suggest in order to justify their theory, is an artificial hypothesis. In fact, the Sarakatsani have not mingled with or ever participated in peasant life, nor in the life of other nomads of the country. Now, if they were strangers and did not have contact with the natives how could they have had the opportunity to become Hellenized? Moreover, since they led a life apart from the other inhabitants of Greece, how could their isolation not have contributed to the /7/ preservation and survival rather than the disappearance of their original ethnic traits?

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113 That is why a certain number of other authors, likewise of different nationalities, have maintained that the Sarakatsani are Greeks. They are:

--The Frenchmen L. Heuzey (17) and J. Ancel (18).

17. L. Heuzey: Le mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie p. 200.

18. J. Ancel: La Macédoine, p. 24.

--The Germans G. Stadmuller (19), A. Passow (20), A. Philipson (21), P. Kretschmer (22), Ed. Hermann (23), and P. Wahrmann (24).

19. G. Stadmüller: Problèmes relevant de l'étude historique de l'Épire, p. 156.

20. A. Passow: Carmina Popularia Graeciae Recentioris, p. 648.

21. A. Philipson: Thesalien und Epirus, p. 391.

22. P. Kretschmer: Compte rendu sur l'ouvrage de C. Höeg, p. 180.

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23. Ed. Hermann: Compte rendu sur l'ouvrage de C. Höeg, p. 1389.

24. P. Wahrmann: Compte rendu sur l'ouvrage de C. Höeg, p. 359-363.

--The Austrian, A. Haberlandt (25).

25. A. Haberlandt: Compte rendu sur l'ouvrage de C. Höeg, p. 141.

--The Dane, Carsten Höeg (26).

26. C. Höeg: Les Saracatsans, p. 82 f.

--The Bulgarian, A. Ischirkoff (27).

27. A. Ischirkoff: Bulgarien, Land und Leute /Bulgaria, the country and the people/, vol. I, P. 31.

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--Finally, the Greeks, K. Amantos (28), A. Keramopoulos (29), N. Bées (30), St. Kyriakidès (31), M. Triantaphyllidès (32) (professors at the University of Athens and of Salonica), J. Vlachoyannis (33), P. Aravantinos (34), J. Lambridès (35), K. Krystallis (36), E. Tziantzios (37) and very recently D. Géorgakas (38) and Madame Ang. Hadjimichali (39).

28. Κ. ΑΜΑΝΤΟΣ : Σλάβοι καί Σλαυόφωνοι, p. 28.
29. Α. ΚΕΡΑΜΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ : Τί εἶναι οἱ Κουτσόβλαχοι, p. 21.
30. Ν. ΒΕΗΣ : Σαρακατσαναῖοι.
31. Σ. ΚΥΡΙΑΚΙΔΗΣ : Βιβλιοκρισία ἐπί τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ *C. Höeg*, p. 366-368.
32. Μ. ΤΡΙΑΝΤΑΦΥΛΛΙΔΗΣ, ζωλόγος, p. 6.
33. Γ. ΒΛΑΧΟΓΙΑΝΝΗΣ : Ν. Κασομούλη : Στρατιωτικά ἀνδρώματα, p. 106.
34. Π. ΑΡΑΒΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ : Χρονογραφία τῆς Ἠπείρου, p. 144-877.
35. Ι. ΛΑΜΠΡΙΔΟΥ : Ἠπειρωτικαί Μελέται, p. 12 et 50-51.
36. Κ. ΚΡΥΣΤΑΛΛΗ : Οἱ Βλάχοι τῆς Πίνδου, p. 108.
37. Ε. ΤΖΙΑΝΤΖΙΟΥ : Τραγούδια τῶν Σαρακατσάνων.
38. Δ. ΓΕΩΡΓΑΚΑ : Περί τῆς καταγωγῆς καί τοῦ ἐνδύματος τῶν Σαρακατσάνων, p.
94 et suiv.
39. Α. ΧΑΤΖΗΜΙΧΑΛΗ : Σαρακατσάνοι, Α, I p. ϛ - ρε'.

These authors do not all agree on the moment when the Sarakatsani appeared. Some of them claim that their origin goes back to antiquity.

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114 Carsten Höeg, P. Aravantinos, K. Amantos, A. Keramopoulos and Madame Hadjimichali strongly emphasize /8/ this idea. The Germans A. Kretschmer and P. Wharmann share the opinion of C. Höeg, but make no commentary. However, this theory, according to which the Sarakatsani would be Greek nomads going back to antiquity, does not seem to us justified. For in Greek or Latin literature one does not find any illusion by any ancient author to the existence of nomads on Greek soil. Indeed it seems that such a way of life did not exist among the Greeks. (40)

[113] 40. A. Philipson: Das Mittelmeergebiet /The Mediterranean Region/, p. 188.

Madame Hadjimichali tries to explain to us that the Greek writers were not particularly interested in the Sarakatsani since the nomads did not belong to any town and consequently did not really participate in political and historical life. Moreover, she maintains that Sarakatsani art represents a survival of neolithic Greek art and is consequently a proof of the antiquity of their origin.

We find that we must reject these arguments, first because Greek authors, on the contrary, were enormously interested in modes of life different from that of the city; Pausanias, Herodotus, Aristotle, etc., tell us much of it. But they never spoke of Greek nomadism. (41)

[113] 41. These authors were acquainted with nomadism. Aristotle: Politics, book I, chapter III, paragraph 4, in treating the problem of modes of life, mentions nomadism but does not cite it as one of the forms of life of the Hellenes.--Pausanias: Description de la Grèce /Description of Greece/ also speaks of it, three times: book I, chapter VII, paragraph 2, book I, chapter 21, paragraphs 5-6, book VIII, chapter 43, paragraph 3. All these instances concern the barbarians--Libyans (Marmarides), Savromatès, Blacks, Scythians.

Thus, if nomadic life had existed, we would certainly find references in legends, tales, folksongs, etc.

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114 What reinforces our objections is the fact that even down the centuries, when the cities no longer existed, we do not find any trace liable to justify this conception. The absolute silence which covers the supposed existence of the Sarakatsani for century after century only confirms the theory that their appearance is much more recent.

Furthermore, the second argument of Madame Hadjimichali based on Sarakatsani art, furnishes no proof either, in view of the fact that it concerns geometric art which one finds almost everywhere (in Kabylia, in Morocco, in Finland, in Peru, in Polynesia, etc.). Moreover forms based on geometric designs can be repeated, without this fact constituting proof of continuity. For these forms are limited by definition.

/9/ Thus it seems that this argumentation is not acceptible.

174 On the other hand, a careful and searching analysis of the idiom spoken by the Sarakatsani in conjuction with a certain number of facts which we shall enumerate below authorizes us to say that we are concerned with a group of sedentary Greek peasants who, from all evidence, were uprooted from their homes during the fourteenth century following an event thereof an unknown nature, and who sought refuge in the mountain region where, in order to survive, the began to practice herding and, as a consequence, nomadism.

This theory which has been proposed by the Greek scholar D. Georgakas, cited above, (42)

42. See p. 14

rests on a number of facts:

1. The idiom spoken by the Sarakatsani is one formed in the northern part of the country before the fourteenth century. Since the Sarakatsani live isolated from other Hellenes, it would be inconceivable to suppose that they existed earlier than their language. If they had, how could we explain that the latter does not include more archaic elements, since this is the case among the populations of some Greek islands and among the Greeks of the Trebizond region? Nor can their isolation be subsequent to this date.

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174 [166] 2. The various regions of Greece experienced many exoduses in the course of that epoch. One can cite several cases of entire populations taking refuge in the mountain region and establishing new villages in order to escape the oppression of invaders.

[175] 3. A pattern of life of nomadic sheep herders did exist in the country from the eleventh century on, according to the testimony of the imperial princess of Byzantium, Anne Comnène, who is regarded as one of the most famous chroniclers of her time. (43)

43. Anne Comnène /sic/, edited by Bonne, I, p. 395: "... those who have chosen the nomadic life commonly call themselves Valaques." We know that the Valaques practiced sheep breeding.

4. The ethnological analysis of certain customs observed among them indicates practices of agricultural origin. This conclusion is verified by the fact that these same very ancient customs are found among the agricultural populations of the north. (44)

44. See below pp. 290-294, 302-303, 322-324, etc.

Now, would a people who were nomadic from the beginning have preserved the practiced customs of this kind?

/10/ [173] [166] 5. Finally, their collective memory still recalls "a flight into the mountain region to escape oppression, and the subsequent adoption of the life of stock-breeding nomads." To tell the truth, considering the nature of the soil of the Hellenic peninsula, herding constituted their only available means of meeting their material needs.

Obviously, if to these five arguments (the first of which was proposed by D. Georgakas and the others by ourselves) one could add a sixth, namely, the preservation among the Sarakatsani of customs existing formerly among the populations of the north of Greece, one would reinforce this theory. Unfortunately, the intellectual heritage of the Greek middle ages, the accounts and testimonies of chroniclers, do not include descriptions of popular life to which one could refer. And the only work of this kind which we actually possess--a work written in the twelfth

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century by Eustace, Bishop of Salonika entitled "Folklore" (Ta Laographika), edited and annotated by Professor F. Koukoulès (in two volumes, Athens, publication of the Society of Macedonian Studies, 1950)--can be of no use for lack of details.

The same is true of the other work of Professor F. Koukoulès: Vie et Civilisation Byzantines (Vol. I-VI, published in Greek in the Collection of the French Institute of Athens, 1947-1957) for although it includes a wealth of details, it gives information only about urban life.

Thus, the arguments presented above permit us to conclude that the Sarakatsani constitute neither an ethnic minority nor a special race, but a part of the Hellenic population, which is distinguishable from the others by the originality of its life-style.

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This digression ended, we should like to say that the preceding findings, bearing on the special problems which the Sarakatsani must solve and on the conditions under which these problems must find their solution, have already presented the framework for the present work. As far as our conclusions are concerned, we shall attempt, in an essay of synthesis and explanation, to show the broad principles on which Sarakatsani society and culture are based and to try to examine them from a dynamic perspective, that of the process of their formation and of
/11/ the function that has been imparted to them. We shall likewise examine, from the same point of view, the constituent elements of the society and culture of the Sarakatsani and their mutual relationships. Finally, we shall concern ourselves with the character of the culture and the human type corresponding to their socio-cultural system, and we shall close on some findings about the reasons for their [sic] decline.

It remains for us only to present, in a few words, the method and techniques used in carrying out the present work.

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123 The pages which follow show the research that we carried on
124 "in the field" and on the basis of the existing published data. In
126 the field we practiced both the extensive and the intensive methods, depending on the situation and the local possibilities. Techniques chiefly used were: direct observation, recording of accounts and narratives, interviews, and finally direct participation in Sarakatsani life.

124 As informants we chose and questioned more than one hundred persons of both sexes and all ages, whose social positions were as diverse as possible.

114 The map on p. 5 shows the geographic points at which we centered
128 our enquiry. In addition, the reader will find in this work a certain number of plates and drawings which illustrate our subject and complete our descriptions.

113 As far as bibliography is concerned we must state that no work of analysis on this subject exists and there are only a small number of ethnographic studies, which are listed and evaluated in the pages that follow:

--Carsten Höeg: Les Saracatsans, une tribu nomade grecque

This book, bearing chiefly on the study of the Sarakatsani idiom contains an ethnographic note which, in our opinion, is a good introduction for the reader. However, it is only an introduction and is therefore limited.

Nevertheless, the linguistic part is very interesting and its conclusions continue to remain valid.

In the second volume of this work Monsieur Höeg reproduces some Sarakatsani stories and songs in a compilation very useful to the investigator.

/12/ --D. Géorgakas: De l'origine des Saracatsan et de leur dénomination (in Greek). A very learned study which presents an excellent systematic and critical account of all the theories concerning the origin of the Sarakatsani. It also contains some well documented ethnological data. However, since this study is very specialized it remains limited.

113 /12 cont./ --The study, or several studies (in Greek) by a pharmacist, B. Skafidas who, working as an amateur, has gathered considerable ethnographic material: a) "Les Saracatsans ou les Saracatsanais"; b) "Les Saracatsans--leur vie, leurs moeurs, leur coutumes".

These studies, of which the second duplicates the first and completes it, are genuinely interesting, although sometimes the author seems to consider some of the phenomena recorded by him as characteristic of Sarakatsani life when in reality these are customs followed by other social groups as well. Although the non-expert reader must consult these works cautiously, the contribution of Monsieur Skafidas is real and accomplished.

We shall mention next the study by Madame Joannidès-Barbarigou, ethnographer of merit on the staff of "Archives Folkloriques de l'Académie d'Athènes," on "Huttes des Saracatsan" (published in Greek). Although short, the study is good because of its clarity and precision and is regrettable that its author did not have an opportunity to work more thoroughly in this field. Nevertheless, this work, though brief, is valuable and very interesting.

114 Finally, it is necessary to mention particularly the numerous works on the Sarakatsani by Madame A. Hadjimichali, a Greek ethnographer of renown, culminating in her most recent very lengthy work.

Madame Hadjimichali lived several years among the Sarakatsani and her work is considered authoritative, not only in Greece, but in international ethnographic circles. We believe that modern Greece owes her special recognition for her contribution to the enormous task of the study of Neo-Hellenism. (45)

45. We mean by this term the social and cultural life of Greeks from the eighteenth century to our day, a period during which the nation is moving towards its independence and its renaissance.

113 It seems regrettable to us that her large work in Greek which/13/ bears the general title Les Saracatsans has still not been published in

/13 cont./

113 its entirety. Only the first part has appeared in two volumes, of which the first volume deals with general topics, and the second with professional life, building, food getting and the technique of manufacturing wooden objects, with comments on the decorative motifs carved into these objects.

In any case, Madame Hadjimichali announces, as soon forthcoming, the publication of two more large volumes of the work, devoted to weaving and clothing, along with the corresponding techniques; to the relation between life and work; the family; the different stages of life; religious worship and beliefs; magic and superstition; folk medicine; tales, songs and finally dances.

The volumes that have appeared represent a very rich collection of material, especially valuable since a number of traits, long recorded, have already disappeared, wiped out by the rapid modernization of the Sarakatsani.

114 It is truly regrettable that Madame Hadjimichali did not have recourse, at the time of her investigation and the drafting of her book, to a sufficiently searching analysis to match her great talents and undeniable calling. Thus, the solutions to many problems going beyond simple description have remained obscure. One might even add that the description of certain phenomena would be different if the author had considered them more systematically. On the other hand, in a great number of cases her interpretations of observed phenomena cannot be accepted.

May Madame Hadjimichali, as well as other investigators we have mentioned, kindly forgive us for these remarks which do not mean that we do not appreciate their work, of that we do not have great respect for the authors.

As P. Sorokin says of science: "...it appeared with criticism, has grown with criticism and it lives with criticism...Otherwise, instead of a scientific sociology we will have a pseudo-scientific complimentary art having nothing in common with a real science." (46)

114 /13 cont./
[113] 46. P. Sorokin: Les théories Sociologiques..., p. 17. /English taken from the original text in P. Sorokin, Contemporary Sociological Theories, New York; Harper, 1928. p. xxiii/

127 As far as we are concerned, we have used the bibliography
128 mentioned in order to: 1) To present certain phenomena formerly existing that has disappeared at the time of our inquiry; /14/ 2) complete the gaps in our own inquiry; and 3) present interpretations which certain authors have set forth about some phenomena, and, occasionally, to discuss the differences between their point of view and our own. All these cases have been specifically indicated in our text.

128 On the other hand, as far as the descriptions are concerned, we do
[114] not cite the authors whose observations coincide with ours. That is because, once in the field, we worked as though nothing had been written on the Sarakatsani; we wanted to form an idea about them which was absolutely our own and study their life thoroughly in order to be able to explain it afterwards. Thus, our text was written from the material that we ourselves collected, with the exception of the cases mentioned above.

[120] Perhaps it should also be added that all the works cited are
[121] either descriptive or centered on linguistic analysis. Hence our own contribution consists of the "anthropological" study of the Sarakatsani which, as far as we know, has never been done till now.

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000 To conclude this introduction we wish to thank all those who directly or indirectly facilitated our task: The old Sarakatsani chiefs N. Tzoumanis, A. Katsoulas, J. Yannakis, P. Karaïskow and the teacher of Tchépélovo, E. Yannakos. Our friends, B. Koutsoumbas and G. Katsambékis, likewise Sarakatsani. The lawyers of Sarakatsani origin, Chr. Karaïskos and N. Tsiamis. The veterinarian M.A. Constandinidès, Madame Fr. Ioannidès, Monsieur and Madame Saliveros, Monsieur and Madame Clonaris, and many others whom we are not able to mention for lack of space but whom we think of with gratitude. May all these persons

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000 kindly accept here the expression of our thanks.

128 We wish to thank also our colleague, Madame Y. Roux, whose help in the revision of our text has been particularly valuable.

000 Finally, I wish to recall my debt to my wife to whom this work, like all the others, owes so much.

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PART ONE

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/15/

Dialogue With Nature

121 Placing man in relation to nature, in the Aristotelian sense of « [illegible] » releases a whole world of reciprocal actions and reactions. Multiple phenomena appear which make up, on the one hand, the demographic and ecological base of the entire society and the entire culture, and, on the other hand, that which A. Leroi-Gourhan calls "a layer of objects that constitute the trappings of men", (1)

1. Milieu et techniques, p. 361.

in other words, the technology. All these phenomena originate, as the same author expresses it, "at the point of contact between the exterior environment (the environment pure and simple) and the interior environment". (2)

2. Ibid., p. 361.

that is to say, "an extremely complex solution of mental traditions." (3)

3. Ibid., p. 354.

128 This first part will deal with these phenomena: We shall see the Sarakatsani version of this relationship, the way in which our herders manage to converse with nature.

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Chapter I

The Demographic and Ecological Substratum of Sarakatsani Society and Culture

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114 One can only regret that a complete analysis of the Sarakatsani demographic phenomena is not possible for lack of statistical data.

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123 It is nevertheless possible to reconstruct some of these by relying
124 on the statements of our informants, on our personal observations, on
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published data. (1)

1. Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., p.

and on information furnished by the Services of the Hellenic State.

Thus, there is evidence that:

--The birth rate is very high among the Sarakatsani. Their families are very large, and the number of children that play around the huts is considerable. "It is the children that make up true wealth," the Sarakatsani say; they also maintain that number of boys is of greater importance to them than the number of girls. This statement is based on the fact that children of the female sex are not preferred and it is what they all believe, but it--is false. If it were true, the Sarakatsani would have difficulty marrying, since they practice endogamy; as a general rule they marry only Sarakatsani.

Now, there is no shortage of girls to marry in spite of information to the contrary furnished by B. Skafidas. (2)

2. Oi Sarakatsanaioi, p. 362.

In taking a census of married women within the limits of two large Sarakatsani groups (at Tchoucalades very near Mt. Parnassus, and at Plaka near Lamia) who, significantly enough, were in the process of transition towards the sedentary life, we had occasion to /18/ confirm that non-Sarakatsani women represented a minute proportion (about 1.5%).

--Mortality is apparently low. It is the common belief among the Sarakatsani as well as among the peasants surrounding them that longevity is the rule among them.

This belief seems justified. The local health services of the Hellenic state, established in different localities visited by Sarakatsani, told us that mortality really is very low. Moreover, a visit to the Sarakatsani cemetery at Tchoucalades gave us the opportunity to ascertain that the average age of the deceased inscribed on the tombstones exceeded 70 years. Obviously, since there are no civil state registers among them (3) one may question whether these figures are very accurate.

132 /19 cont./
233 of Thessaly, for example, pasture their flocks in
221 summer during the night and shut them in their pens
36 during the day.
[171] and the Sarakatsani find themselves /20/ obliged to set out again for the mountains, there to find the vegetation ensured by moisture and coolness. (9)

9. M. Sorre: Ibid., p. 635.

233 Nonetheless, the livestock reproduce and their numbers increase
221 with time. Now, the large herds need vast spaces--which means they
361 must be driven in search of pasture, and the fact that large pasturages are not numerous in Greece must be taken into account. That is why the movements of the Sarakatsani become nomadic. Never, except by pure coincidence, do groups know in advance where they are going to settle in their next move. It is the availability of pasturage that determines their movements.

233 Nothing in this process justifies our saying that the Sarakatsani
463 turned toward nomadism as a "calling." The determinancy which comes into play here is so clear that it is altogether useless to seek another especially not in the domain of group psychology, or to bring in a vague concept such as "ethnic vocation" which can only obscure the
233 problem. It is indeed strange that a certain number of theorists (10)
463 10. Among these theorists we must mention P.
114 Veyret: Ibid, p. 71.
believe in this calling of the nomad who becomes herder only because he is first nomad and others (11) justifiably arise against them.
[113] 11. Jean Brunhes: La Géographie Humaine, vol. I, p. 410, M. Sorre: Ibid., p. 635; Birket Smith: Histoire de la Civilisation, p. 195, etc.
to preach the old truth expressed long ago by Aristotle: (12)

12. Aristotle: Politics.

One is a nomad because one is a herder.

/30 cont./

5/ Ibid., A, II, p. 355.

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[114]

This cradle probably no longer exists, for we ourselves, in the course of our investigation in the field, were never able to find one anywhere.

/31/

Fig. 4

The only type of cradle that we came across among the nomads did not differ to any extent from that used by the peasants, and it is always made with boards (fig 4).

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343 --as stable for the mules,

--as a place to milk the ewes,

--as a shelter for the shepherds.

"The shape of these latter huts justifies our saying that the Sarakatsani are in fact acquainted with but a single hut: the round hut which can be elongated," Madame Hadjimichali maintains, in substance. (17)

17. Ibid., A. II, p. 175.

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178 As a matter of fact, this statement which raises a question of a technological order seems at first acceptable. Does not the elongated shape of the round hut constitute a stage in the direction of the rectangular hut which is to all appearances only a further improvement on that form? And if one replies in the affirmative, would not this reply be corroborated by the fact that the civilization of the Sarakatsani insofar as it is a rural and very traditional civilization, must present a certain uniformity in its technical expression?

Now, it seems to us that appearances are not sufficiently convincing for us to agree with this opinion. For, there is such a [341] difference between the technical conceptions underlying the hut with a vaulted framework and the rectangular hut with a framework of forks, that the idea maintained above no longer holds.

[177] The improvement of what already exists, from the same components [341] is one thing; but a transformation, a complete change of the process of construction, hence a total change of conception (replacing arches with regular walls and a roof) presupposes invention of technological borrowing, if not acculturation.

Between the elongated round hut and the rectangular hut the distance is such that no continuity can be established. In any case, the issue remains open, pending additional information.

343
417 The outbuildings of the Sarakatsani dwelling

In addition to the variations we have described and which serve

/123 cont./
121 the other and vice versa, which any geometric figure is powerless to represent.

/124/ We use the term "conjugal family" to mean the husband and
594 wife and their non-married offspring. (1)

1. See E. Durkheim: La famille conjugale, p. 2 f.
[114] We prefer this term to that of "elementary family" proposed by Radcliffe-Brown Introduction, p. 6, for, as Durkheim correctly says, ibid., p. 3, the children move away after their marriage, but the paternal family continues to exist limited to the two spouses, who constitute stable element which characterizes it. The term "conjugal" is therefore more true to the facts.

596 The extended family comprises the oldest parental couple and their male descendants married and surrounded by their families. The young
[591] girls, as soon as they are married, leave the paternal hearth for the abode of their husband. That is how this type of family is born (2) and how this family becomes a patrilocal family.

2. According to A. Radcliffe-Brown: Introduction, p. 7.

591 However, it may happen, though exceptionally, that the husband of the young woman is the one to settle near his father-in-law.

474 The Tséligato is primarily a cooperative of an economic order, the
612 nucleus of which consists of an extended family, economically powerful
596 in the sense that it has at its disposal very large flocks (some of them exceed 15,000 heads of livestock). With this family a certain number of less wealthy conjugal families or extended families become associated. The associated families may be related collaterally or affinally to one another or to the principal family. However, it is equally possible that no bond of kinship unites them. In addition, it sometimes happens that shepherds without flocks attach themselves in that capacity to the Tséligato.

619 Sarakatsani society is made up of all the Sarakatsani together,

/131 cont./

582 role in the social life of these nomads.
[583]

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However, one must not think that, by definition, this system eliminates any kind of choice. On the contrary, though preferential marriage is unknown, there are, all the same, rules of a different order which determine unions and which we shall now enumerate.

581 As we have indicated, marriage for love is excluded. A Sarakatsani
582 norm states "that it is disgraceful to marry on the basis of one's own
[183] feelings." In the course of our investigations we met a family of Sarakatsani, married for a long time and having a considerable number of children, who nevertheless, did not enjoy a good reputation: they had married for love!

581 This is because--and that is the third rule of marriage--marriage
582 is the concern of the parents and not of the interested parties themselves.
584 The father of a young man or young girl (12) of marriageable age
[114] (approximately 25 years) seeks among his acquaintances the father of a family containing a child who might marry his child. The choice depends upon friendship, esteem and above all the prestige enjoyed by the family of the future husband or wife. This prestige is based not only on economic criteria (the respective circumstances of the two families), but also on the families' reputation and on the respect shown them by the rest of the [583] Sarakatsani. The dowry /132/ is unknown. It therefore does not enter in as a factor in Sarakatsani marriage.

12. According to B. Skafidas: Ibid., p. 361, it is forbidden to parents of young girls to look for a husband for them. We were unable to verify this prohibition.

584 The choice made, negotiations are undertaken between the two fathers. Neither the future spouses nor their mothers are ever called upon to give their consent or to express their preferences. A trustworthy man is chosen as intermediary. And it is he who vouches for the alliance between the two families and notifies the two parties that the mutual accord has

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22. During one phase of our inquiry, one of our /female/ collaborators who accompanied us in order to ask the women questions, had the idea of inviting the women of the family to take part in the meal which was offered us in the family hut. The reaction was immediate and very intense. The embarrassment of all was manifest, conversation ceased and the silence was heavy. Finally, the women declared that they had already eaten, and the atmosphere regained its normal character of cordiality and hospitality.

56 that of the girls one can observe a hierarchy: the older ones assert
594 themselves over the younger ones, and the younger ones obey the older
[593] ones. We may say that the older brother or sister is invested with authority over the younger brother or sister, which reproduces on a smaller scale that of the father or the mother.

593 On the economic plane, it is the father who owns all the family
421 possessions of which he is absolute master and manager. The wife has
594 no right over these possessions. For the children the situation is different and varies according to circumstances. The under-age boys and the girls, no matter what their age, can demand none of the paternal fortune.

However, once they are adult, the sons may demand their patrimony from their father during his lifetime if they wish to marry and establish themselves elsewhere. But that happens very rarely.

The girls, for their part, may demand from their father the means that will enable them to prepare their trousseau in preparation for their marriage.

593 The father is likewise expected to provide his family with the
594 means of subsistence, food, clothing, indispensable services, etc.
[562] Here again, the subordination to the father and the privileged

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596 554 [601] are extremely significant in this respect. Thus, the wife is expected to call the brothers and male cousins or her husband "lord," and his sisters and female cousins "mistress."

[601] [114] To claim that the existence of classificatory kinship (36) among the Sarakatsani can be concluded from this fact would be to distort

[113] 36. In the sense proposed by L. Morgan: Systems. See also A.L. Kroeber: Classificatory System /cited in English/, and D. Fordes: Double filiation.

[562] reality. These names symbolize, after all, only the inferior status of the wife.

596 601 As a matter of fact, there are no special terms to be used by a wife with regard to her parents-in-law or the uncles and aunts of the husband; one calls them all simply "father" and "mother," "uncle" and "aunt." These terms already imply respect, for everybody must venerate his father and mother, his uncle and aunt.

On the other hand, for the brothers and male cousins who are generally considered as equals and treated with familiarity, it was necessary to devise terms, to remind the wife that although she has become their sister or their female cousin through affinal ties, she nonetheless owes them respect since they are relatives of her husband.

Likewise, her obligation to respect other wives who have preceded her into the family is reflected in the fact that she must call them, too, "mistresses." The latter, in addressing her, call her "daughter-in-law."

596 561 554 Finally, as was the case with the men, the women also are required to respect those older than themselves, in accordance with the same principle of seniority.

The hierarchy of the women in the extended family /166/ thus operates in terms of age, place in the system of kinship, and the date of their entry into the family circle.

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596 Sarakatsani extended family managed by an elected head as paternal, (49)

[114] 49. This term is used in its ordinary meaning as it refers to the attitude of a father toward his family not in the sense proposed by Durkheim, Ibid., p. 1, footnote by M. Mauss which coincides with the Germanic family. Nor is it the paternal family described by M. Mauss: Manuel, p. 137, in which the wives are strangers to the family and merely produce children.

taking into account the functions and responsibilities of head. It is (829) very significant that the Sarakatsani themselves, in speaking of the functions of the head of the extended family say "that he is a father for all and that he must perform the same tasks as a real father."

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These last statements set us somewhat apart from ethnographers who, concerned with this problem, have stated in a general, but it seems to us a superficial, manner that the Sarakatsani extended family is a patriarchal family. (50)

50. See Mme. Hadjimichali: Ibid., A.I. p.

596 Strict patriarchy, as we have seen, does not exist there. The status and 19 position of its members, chiefly the women and the children, are based on more progressive ideas--ideas which have been expressed for a long time in Greece.

Even Aristotle, in describing the family of the pre-classical epoch, says that the husband is the natural master of the family community, since "nature has denied the women and the child the aptitude to rule."

Therefore the head of the family knows how to adapt his authority in his own interests and exercise power "constitutionally over the wife and monarchically over the children."

/174 / These Aristotelean statements show very well the humanization, so to speak, of the Hellenic family within the framework of the City---

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/200/ As a matter of fact, the law that developed during the Turkish occupation in the local communities is a law of cooperation whereas Byzantine law, inspired by Roman law, is dominated by individualism. The Greeks of this period grouped themselves with all kinds of associations (economic, religious, political and, though this may seem strange under an occupation, even military). (6)

6. N. Pantazopoulos: « Ἕλλην συσσιτισμός » with a copious bibliography.

Local law was adapted to the needs of this collective organization of life. It should therefore not be astonishing that Sarakatsani law, which also favors cooperation, should have been inspired by the model of external law, and that it should have been formed on the basis of the same principles, despite its own peculiarities. However, this is merely a hypothesis, absolute verification of which is impossible at the moment for lack of data.

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Let us go on now to the examination of this same problem but within the framework of the second period:

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When the Hellenic kingdom was established the public law of the new state, though valid for and applicable to all Greeks and hence also to the Sarakatsani did not have much opportunity to interfere in their lives.

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The occupation and the war of independence left the country completely disorganized and devoid of any framework and any public service. It took many years before services were created, before archives and registers were set up dealing with the population - even the sedentary population. One can imagine the difficulties administrative mechanism of the state.

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It is only very recently, in 1938, as we have seen, that they have all submitted in practice to civic life, to the obligation of military service, to taxes, etc.

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Between these two date (1835-1938) the influence of public law on their lives, very minor in the beginning and very strong toward the end,

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process of obeying, other factors intervene, and that we must discover them in analyzing this phenomenon in its totality, true to the heritage of M. Mauss. (27)

27. See M. Mauss: Essai sur le don, p. 275-276.--
It is noteworthy that Malinowski, ibid., pp. 39, 41,42, in in his effort to explain the obediance of the Trobrianders to their legal customs, gives an interpretation identical to ours concerning obedience to arbiters, based cn his famous "principle of reciprocity." We have explained above that this principle does not cover all of the life of law. And we shall give a more detailed critique of Malinowski's theory in one of the following sections. If we find his positions deficient it is because they are formulated according to his functionalist method which seems to us inadequate, in keeping with C. Lévi-Strauss: Introduction, p. xxxvi, who says: "Where Mauss saw a constant relationship between the phenomena as their explanation, Malinowski asks himself what they are for in order to seek a justification for them."

Every altercation between individuals is translated in actual fact into an opposition between groups. The members of the family of each interested party, bound to him by solidarity and alliance, will follow him all the more readily when disputes submitted to arbiters are of an economic order, hence handled by the head. If portions of families are set against each other in the core of the extended family or the Tséligato these groups run the danger of splitting. The principle of cooperation and solidarity is then challenged. And where, until then, peace reigned, there is threat of disorder and insecurity. Besides, the principle of the isolation of Sarakatsani from surrounding society is also endangered. For if the recalcitrant refuses to obey the arbiters, the only recource to justice is the State, which means interference of non-Sarakatsani (formerly the occupying forces) in Sarakatsani affairs. Finally, the

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121 67 68 to force interested parties to obey; finally, we fill the gaps left by the acceptance of the principle of reciprocity, while reinforcing its effectiveness where it exists.

Remarks of a similar order may be made with respect to certain theories that follow the same line as the ideas of Malinowski. This is the case with P. Esmein, (39) who also quotes Hogbin, (40)

39. Le droit et ses sources, p. 6-7.

40. Le droit et l'ordre en Polynésie (in English).

with Lowie, (41) with Van Vollenhoven who, in the second volume of his work

41. Traité, p. 389.

Het adatrecht van Nederlandsch Indië, (42) /the custom law of the Dutch Indies/

[128] 42. The Dutch being inaccessible to us, we refer here to Josselin de Jong's discussion of this author, published in his study which we quote later on.

1918 /230/ (pp. 236 and 400) published after the appearance of Malinowski's book, modified the thesis proposed in his first volume, according to which law is made up of rules of behavior that are not codified and are accompanied by organized sanctions. His new thesis involves a double criterion, the mutual interaction of two customs: on the one hand, commendation and disapproval, and on the other-- intimately bound to the former--imperatives or prohibitions in the heart of the collective conscience and conduct. According to Josselin de Jong's interpretation, Van Vollenhoven did not give up the criterion of organized sanction but, under the influence of Malinowski, he enriched it. Thus the field of customary law is enlarged, but its boundaries remain uncertain. This observation by Josselin de Jong shows very well the weakness of this theory, which its author tries to overcome, without success. Furthermore, Van Vollenhoven does not tell us how and by what mechanism disapprovals and commendations are linked to the collectivity, so that no distinction can be made between opinion and morals on the one hand, and law on the other.

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Thus J.- P. B. de Josselin de Jong: Customary Law /cited in English/, pp.

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121 3-7, aware of the confusion caused by the comparison of customary law with
671 the totality of customs, as well as by the absence of a definition of law strict enough to separate custom in general from our observations, and sufficiently broad to include the entire gamut of manifestations of the principle of legality, proposes eliminating the term "customary law." For, according to him, the difference between customary law and custom is
(681) one of form and not content. Thus, the authority of law is based on the conviction that its existence is necessary and is based on the threat of sanctions.

121 If we understand this author's[4] idea correctly, it seems to us that,
671 despite his effort to dispel the confusion, his positions only aggravate it.
681 The moment he finds that the source of the authority of law lies not in
114 sanction, a social reality and an objective and positive criterion, but in the feeling that it is useful, hence a psychological reality, the distinction between legal customs and other customs becomes impossible. Hence it is equally impossible to formulate a definition applicable to all manifestations of legality. For all the customary norms of behavior can be regarded as necessary, so that we are reduced to identifying custom in general with law, that is to say, /231/ to a repetition of the errors that we mean to combat. If we follow this author who, conscious of this risk, proposes to abolish the idea of customary law, we are left with no hope of an approach to non-evolved laws. Furthermore, the distinction between customary law and custom is not a distinction of form, but of nature. It seems to us that Josselin de Jong proposes the opposite, enticed by the fact that very often the same custom has two aspects, two potentials: one as a model of behavior, the other as a legal norm. The latter becomes real when sanction comes to its aid in seeking to enforce it. And at that moment, custom becomes purely legal and obviously acquires all the attributes of a law. If it does not appeal to sanction but if, at the moment it becomes reality, it imposes itself through other means, it presents the attributes of a model or behavior. These two situations are profoundly different. The difference is the same

[4] /i.e., J.-P.B. de Joselin de Jong--Analyst/

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121 671 681 114 one that may be established between the moral imperative to respect the life of another and the rule of the penal code forbidding homicide. The content of the two commandments is the same, but their nature is different. This is exactly what Malinowski said when he stated that legality is more an aspect of tribal life than an independent arrangement.

Finally, if Josselin de Jong had sought to discover the real sanction associated with non-evolved laws, he would have avoided these slippery trails and would have entered the path leading to the definition of customary law.

121 671 208 We should now like to consider another theory which, like that of Van Vollenhoven, also addresses itself to public opinion. It is Hoebel's theory in The Law of Primitive Man /cited in English/. According to it, in case of a claim for damages or the restitution of stolen goods, or even punishment of the perpetrator of an illicit act, if the person responsible admits his responsibility and if public opinion expresses itself in favor of the plaintiff, this public opinion then represents a tribunal and the whole process takes on a legal character (p. 25). Hoebel adds: "Primitive law is characterized by the fact that the plaintiff, in demanding his right, seeks to satisfy both his own interest and the interest of society in general. Furthermore, primitive law shows a certain regularity" (p. 28). /English quotation not found on designated page/.

121 114 671 208 Hoebel here draws quite close to the problem but /232/ does not get to the heart of it. He individualizes laws and obligations, is aware of the role of the group in the resolution of states of conflict, but he does not tell us by what process "public opinion " is enforced. Therein lies the weakness of his theory. As we have shown elsewhere, sanction and disguised coercion differentiate absolutely between public opinion and what we have called the "sentence arising from a group." Public opinion expresses an attitude of the group with regard to a dispute. When this opinion is dominated by the idea of justice and when it is armed with means of sanction and coercion, even if it is not apparent, it represents a true sentence.

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121 114 67 Furthermore, Hoebel's idea concerning the regularity of primitive law is only partially true. One cannot expect regularity in only cases where one has to judge according to a spontaneous law based on equity, good sense and "ad hoc". If one accepts the position of Hoebel, one must exclude all these instances of juridical life.

121 67 We shall conclude these critical remarks by examining another category of theories which base non-evolved law on its relations either to the totality of social regulations or to morality.

121 67 68 Radcliffe-Brown, in his book Structure and Function in Primitive Society /cited in English/, and in agreement with R. Pound, notes first that law is part of social control, but is not identified with it. "The field of law," he states, "will therefore be regarded as coterminus with that of organized legal sanctions. The obligations imposed on individuals in societies where there are legal sanctions will be regarded as matters of custom and convention but not of law; in this sense, some simple societies do not have law, although all have customs which are supported by sanctions" (p. 212).

Thus we come back to the formalistic conception of law: law is every rule accompanied by legal sanction and legal sanction is every sanction imposed "by a constituted authority, political, military or ecclesiastic" (p. 208).

Let us try now to see where the assertions of this author may lead. We take as an example "the negative organited sanctions" which, according to him, represent social reactions, social acts directed against persons open to social disapproval because of their behavior, and which /233/ are carried out according to traditional and recognized procedures. These acts consist of the exposure of the culprit in public, his total or partial exclusion from social life and the privileges that derive from it, the loss of his civil or religious rights or of his social rank. In addition to all this, one also finds confiscation of goods, or the infliction of corporal punishment--mutilation, flagellation, even capital punishment.

Now if one excludes law as the justification for these acts, for this punishment, what remains? Our author proposes morality and religion and

/233 cont./

121 671 681 above all the mechanism of social control (p. 208). But morality and religion can play this role only partially, as Radcliffe-Brown himself recognized albeit indirectly because, on the one hand, morality is not imposed by force without a change in their nature, and, on the other hand, punishible acts are not all related to religion. Finally, social [626] control is a very general function which involves several others and is therefore incapable of explaining this specific phenomenon.

Likewise, Radcliffe-Brown proposes that when sanctions are taken by individuals or groups against individuals and groups (vengeance, duel, blood revenge, etc.), under the control and with the approval of society, diffuse sanctions "of public opinion" /cited in English/ are involved. [114] This conclusion does not take us unawares. Since our author denies the legal character of the terrible sanctions enumerated above, applied collectively and according to a procedure determined in advance, it is natural that he should deny this character to these additional, more individualized sanctions.

[208] [626] We have shown, moreover, that public opinion is not able to impose sanctions exceeding disapproval.

121 671 The question therefore remains open. We believe that the perspective offered by our own position makes it possible to avoid the confusion of law with other social regulations and to avoid the paradoxical idea that societies can live without law when they do not have a specific judicial apparatus.

Marcel Mauss, for his part (chapter VII of his Manual), says: "In societies that ethnography singles out all legal phenomena are moral phenomena, without exception; which does not mean that all moral phenomena are necessarily legal in the strict sense" (p. 110). It remains to be seen how one can distinguish law from morality. /234/ "Legal phenomena," says Mauss, "are organized moral phenomena (p. 111)...We know the presence of morality and religion only from the presence of infraction and the idea of sanction. There is moral obligation...when there is diffuse sanction;

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elders, the opposite sex and strangers. Let us recall in this connection that the separation of the sexes is still manifest in the custom that requires men and women to dance separately at festivals.

As for the "community," everyone must consider that his life belongs to the service of others, hence the obligation of solidarity and cooperation on all levels. Conversely and consequently, distrust of non-Sarakatsani is obligatory, though the rules of hospitality are not violated.

As far as tradition is concerned, there is nothing to add to what has been said up to now. Finally, with respect to courage and bravery, indispensable qualities for people whose hard life is carried on in isolation, it is necessary to point out that this subject is also bound up with patriotism. At the birth of each boy it is customary for relatives and friends to wish the parents of the newborn child: "That he will one day become a resistance fighter /maquisard/ and the head of a band." (3)

3. Reported by B. Skafidas: Ibid., p.57.

This wish has a definite meaning: it expressed the desire that the newborn child, once he becomes an adult, will participate actively in revolts against the Turks and that he will even distinguish himself as chief of the rebels. However, because of the fact that some Sarakatsani have practiced brigandage the impression arose that this aspiration tended to lean to banditry. In /239/ this impression, obviously erroneous, one might recognize the phenomenon of an "out group" /cited in English/; (4)

4. See W.G. Sumner: Folkways, A study of the sociological importance of usages, manners, customs, mores and morals /cited in English/, 1906.--T. Newcomb: Social Psychology /cited in English/, London, 1955.

the surrounding society is always ready to accuse the Sarakatsani of acts it disapproves. (5) If some of them have actually practiced brigandage, we

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[577] [180] [671]

law, the supremacy of which one cannot deny. (9) clearly, the morality

9. G. Gurvitch: Ibid., p. 199, states an opposite opinion not, it is true, with regard to the Sarakatsani but in relation to patriarchal structure in general. It is difficult for us to accept this opinion based on the consideration that Hebraic society of biblical times, Homeric society, the latifundia, the zadruga etc., are ruled by morality. It seems to us that Deutoronomy, the scene of the chaining of Achilles, the very ancient Roman law, etc., as well as the type of life of these societies shows the opposite.

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of the Sarakatsani is nowhere in contradiction with their other social regulations, with the rules deriving from religion, magic, knowledge etc., and as a result it never creates problems of conscience or behavior, nor

[182] of internal social rupture. On the contrary, being perfectly integrated in a perfectly coherent system, it offers the Sarakatsani a solid as well as an indispensable foundation for safeguarding their traditional social life.

/244/ PART THREE

121 /245/IN THE PRESENCE OF THE MYSTERIOUS, THE WONDERFUL, THE BEAUTIFUL

/245/ "In vain experience says 'it is false' and reason says 'it is absurd,' humanity clings all the more to absurdity and error."

This phrase by Henri Bergson (1)

1. See Les Deux Sources, p. 105.

could serve as the motto for the title of this section if the point of view proper to anthropology did not impose on us the duty not to criticize but to explain "the absurd" and "the error," to recognize them as stages through which humanity passes in its epic course toward the conquest of the world by the mind. (2)

2. See above, Chapter III.

128 In this third part we shall try to study in detail how the Sarakatsani,

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844 602 (114)

animals may walk. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (3) the burial takes

3. Ibid., A.I. p. [illegible]. --A statement that our own observations have not permitted us to confirm.

place under the very hearth of the hut. No glance, especially not a male one, must fall on the placenta at that moment.

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A practice of parallel significance is found in death customs. The deceased is laid on the ground on a velentza until the moment of burial. And in order that his soul should find rest and forgiveness of men and God, (775) (262) "the cake of the dead," the kolyva is prepared on a plate from grains of wheat boiled in water. It represents the body and is likewise placed in the ground.

842 (789) (825) (128)

Finally, we must mention again the viper head which the spouses wear as an amulet.

If we have presented all these practices without comment it is because we intend to discuss them all together.

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What stands out first of all when we consider them is that the Sarakatsani appeal to the moon, the earth, the fire and the snake--personifying the forces whose common trait is their favorable influence on fertility. All four represent the source of life: the moon "living and inexhaustible in its own regeneration...and the source of universal fertility"; (4)

4. See M. Eliade: Traité, pp. 145, 148 and the bibliography. /?previously/ mentioned.

the earth, mother of all; (5) fire, symbolizing rejuvenation and immortality; (6)

5. See G. Samter: Geburt, p. 2 f., M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 223.

6. See H. Jeanmarie: Dionysos, p. 387.

the snake, image of the moon, which regenerates itself by shedding its skin, (7) and which resembles the phallus. (8)

7. G. Van der Leeuw: La religion, p. 67.

8. M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 152.

/256 cont./

527 solemnly and in a high voice, speaks these words: "May ewes and goats
233 be born." She is offered cakes and extended wishes for a long life
825 and happiness. According to Madame Hadjimichali, the women can predict
789 from the crackling of the fire whether the year ahead will be fruitful or
[574] [787] or disastrous.

The first day of the Orthodox Advent (40 days before Christmas) a
[776] long tree trunk is put in the hearth and allowed to burn for a while.
Then it is extinguished and put to one side. This procedure is invariably
repeated each morning. On Christmas morning the oldest woman of the family
lights what is left and carries it lighted to the stroungha (Fig. 73) A
where she buries it at the entrance where the animals pass. (24)

[114] 24. A practice reported by Madame Hadjimichali (ibid., p. ρν') but that we ourselves have not encountered.

527 On New Year's day, according to our own observations (on Christmas day
233 according to those of Madame Hadjimichali), (25)
825
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[114]

25. Ibid., A. II, pp. 346-350. This difference in the data is not surprising since the Sarakatsani groups are numerous and variations of customs are inevitable as a result of acculturation. It is to be noted that the non-Sarakatsani population make a pastry on New Year's day. It is possible that the statements of Madame Hadjimichali report a state of affairs before our own investigation. In this connection we wish to emphasize that Madame Hadjimichali gives a very fine description of the cakes in question, with superb drawings.

each mother of a family prepares a pastry decorated with motifs in relief,
which represent /257/ a stroungha with sheep, imprints of horseshoes,
a dog, shepherd reeds, distaffs, vipers and last of all scorpions. The
whole is an evocation of the economic life of the Sarakatsani, the stroungha,
A, /See p.100--Analyst/

/278 cont./
used in many other magic proceedings.

/279/ Finally, one makes the sign of the cross over the affected individual while one holds some grains of salt. Then one throws the salt in the fire where it explodes. Whereupon one gathers up the fragments and puts them in water. When the salt has dissolved one sprinkles the patient with this liquid. The properties of salt combined with the purification by fire will act therapeutically on him. (81)

81. Several ideas are intertwined in these practices. The influence of certain materials and certain forces combined with the word, the exorcism or incantation, as well as with the evocation of sacred personages are at the center of the action. All this is well known to us, hence it is not necessary to go back to it. Let us point out only that these methods aim at purifying the afflicted subject.

The protection of the livestock against the evil eye presupposes mainly two things: an amulet and silence. The amulet consists of a new ball in which are put salt, incense, some pitch, some dust, etc. (materials which the women take to church on Maundy Thursday to have them blessed), (82) as well as some pieces of paper on which a country priest writes appropriate exorcisms. (83)

82. See the next chapter: the ritual of Maundy Thursday.

83. This is an old custom of pagan origin, related to oracles, etc., which St. Jean Chrysostome has severely criticized: M.P.G. 62, 358, etc. This same author gives us a brief description of these writings: Christian vows, magic phrases, names of rivers, star of David, etc. Since we have not had occasion to see the writings the Sarakatsani use, it is impossible for us to say whether they correspond to those described by Chrysostome. This custom has also been condemned

233 /279 cont./
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[114] by the Council of Laodicea (36th rule), Mansi, vol. II.
Then one strikes the rim of the bell in order to close it and puts it around the neck of a ram of the finest ewe of the flock. This amulet protects against sickness as well as evil spirits. (84)

[534] 84. The bell, the hand bell, the sleighbell in themselves protect against every kind of evil, see Chrysostomos: Ibid., p. 105.

233 As for the commands of silence, the shepherd must not talk about the
784 breeding of the animals and the head man must not tell anyone until
22] the last moment the date, hour and destination of a forthcoming seasonal
[754] migration. Thus no one can be envious or influence the animals with his evil eye during these decisive stages of their lives (occasions of "transition").

789 From the therapeutic standpoint, an exorcism of the Church or a
514 wound dressing made with human urine (85)
233
[191] 85. The use of blood and excrements in magic is well known and is found universally. Once more Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., p. 232 referring to [redacted] M.P.G. 88, 1904, tells us that urine represented in the Byzantine epoch the vital force, here opposed to the force threatening life, that is to say, the evil eye. From all evidence the urine of man protects the animals because of the superiority of man over them.

and placed on a limb of the animal affected, are sufficient.

754 /280/ The lack of data on black magic, stressed at the beginning of this chapter, prevents us from speaking of it in detail. The little that we know about it allows us to understand that this magic is performed chiefly by casting a spell; an object belonging to the victim is usually indispensable for the sorcerer to show his power. Nevertheless, the sorcerer is very often able to make the necessary substances and figurines

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825 789 (193) according to their collective memory. If this is true, these verses give us the origin of the practice and at the same time an explicit interpretation which corroborates our own. However, this type of protection against magic is not unknown to the Hellenic people. It is also found in the Peleponnesus, see Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. A. II, p. 263.

(191)

We borrow the citation from Madame Hadjimichali, vol. A, p. 399. However, this author sees in this practice only protection against snake bites and "evils." The protection it provides against magic escapes her.

(114)

754 791 Yet our examination of this subject would not be complete if we did not speak of the magician and the curse.

The Sarakatsani agree that the "richtologos", the anti-sorcerer, can come from their ranks, but they do not want to admit that there are Sarakatsani sorcerers! According to their accounts, these are always 754 186 people belonging to surrounding society who are all evil ones and dedicated to the underworld. It is very difficult to tell whether this assertion is true or ideological; in the latter case we are most probably once again in the presence of a phenomenon emanating from the conflict situation that exists between the "in" and the "out groups" /quotations cited in English/. Be that as it may, it seems that in order to become a sorcerer a person must be trained by an experienced sorcerer. On the other hand, we have obtained no information on the qualities required to become one.

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754 583 603 As far as the curse is concerned, it is a magic of the word which is not within reach of all. Everybody can curse. But for this act to be effective, its author must occupy a definite kinship position (parents or grandparents against their children or grandchildren) and the curse must be justified. The Sarakatsani say "the curse asks before it acts!" Nevertheless, there are, by way of exception, persons whose curse is harmful even 754 602

/307 cont./

121 789 811 However, before ending this section, another conclusion, this time methodological, asserts itself. Since Sarakatsani magical thinking proceeds from psychic and wholly social phenomena, it is obvious that any unilateral and unidimensional approach must be excluded if one wishes to arrive at an explanation of it.

That is why, in our own approach, we have not resorted to the principal theories that explain magic. Thus, a brief critical account of these theories appears necessary to justify our position.

SOME CRITICAL REFLECTIONS.

789 114 Let us begin first with the intellectualistic explanation of J. Frazer revealed in his works: Le Rameau d'or, pp. 3, 5, 24, etc., and Les origines magiques de la royaute, p. 35. Frazer sees in magic an erroneous interpretation of the association of ideas by resemblance and proximity, expressed in the more general idea of sympathy (109)

109. The idea of sympathy already figures in the thought of Greek antiquity and of the Middle Ages. See: M. Nilsson: Les croyances religieuses, p. 193, who cites Plotinus, and M. ΨΕΛΛΟΣ: Ἔκφρασις.

between objects and phenomena--a sympathy devoid of all human depth--which permits magic manipulations. Even in cases where supernatural beings are invoked the magician treats the latter "as inanimate agents, by force and constraint and not by conciliation or propitiation." (110)

110. Ibid., p. 67.

Now, nothing is more foreign to the magical practices of the Sarakatsani than this "cold prescience" of Frazer which, in its generality, has already been criticized by Mauss and Hubert, (111)

111. M. Mauss and R. Hubert: La Magie, pp. 4, 13, etc.

by R. Bastide, (112)

112. R. Bastide: Sociologie Religieuse, pp. 19, 28, etc.

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789 by G. Gurvitch (113)

114 113. G. Gurvitch: "La Magie," pp. 70-74 in Vocation Act., vol. II.

and many others. Even in the case of "magical practices of simple transmission" the affective aspect is present in the motivation and the myth of efficacy accompanying them. As for mythic transmission and /308/ [781] the rites against supernatural beings and contamination, the various "real life experiences" of the Sarakatsani in this connection, dominated by fear, respect, the feeling of dependence on "forces," the desire to be in favorable relations with them, etc., show that the Sarakatsani practicing his magic finds himself in a psychological climate that is complex and full of vibrations, and has nothing in common with that of "the artisan at work." To give an illustration of this, let us recall [784] the Sarakatsani aversion to speaking of these rites, the purification of [783] the woman in childbirth from life-giving forces, the ritual performance [788] of all the practices.

In opposition to the theory of Frazer we may place that of Bergson--a brilliant exposition, in his work Les deux sources de la morale et de la religion. For Bergson, magic is based on the life force which has caused man to rise above the animal world and has endowed him with intelligence (p. 208). Since his intelligence is in direct proportion to his knowledge, and since this knowledge is limited, man is conscious of his ignorance "would feel lost in its immensity. But instinct is awake" (p. 170). "The pressure of instinct has called forth...from the very bosom of intelligence...the fable-making function" (p. 172) which does not come from the imagination but which, expressed in mythology, answers "a fundamental need of life...; fable-making thus results from the conditions of existence of the human species" (p. 207). Thanks to it, the part of the universe not dominated by homo faber /man the maker/ proves impregnated with humanity (pp. 172-174)... "I should say charged with a force capable

/508 cont./

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114 of entering into the plans of man. From this disposition man was able to profit by extending his action beyond that which physical laws would permit" (p. 174). The fable-making function operates in two directions. Either, it manufactures gods and spirits, that correspond to religion, or it invents forces that are not purely mechanical and that yield to our desires and wishes and which correspond to magic (p. 173). In any case, it protects man from "whatever there might be in the exercise of intelligence which could depress the individual and dissolve society" (p. 217). As for magic strictly speaking, its operations do not obey theoretical principles (the rules of magic action), for "if primitive intelligence had begun conceiving principles at this point it would very soon have gone on to experimentation which would have demonstrated the falseness /of magic/." Principles come later on.../309/ "there is a logic of the body, an extension of desire, which is exerted well before intelligence has found a conceptual form for it" (p. 175). "Magic is therefore innate in man, being only the externalization of a desire that fills the heart" (p. 176). And Bergson adds, a little farther on: "Magic appears to us therefore to dissolve into two elements: the desire to act on anything, even on that which cannot be reached and the idea that things are charged, or let themselves be charged, with what we might call a human fluid" (p. 178). It is therefore contrary, in inverse ratio to science (pp. 178-182), and it differs from religion in that "the one claims to force the consent of nature and the other implores the favor of a god."

We are quite willing to agree with the idea that magic presupposes desire and that it protects man from discouragement. But we cannot reduce Sarakatsani magic either to instinct or to a fable-making function derived from it or from the logic of the body which, according to Bergson, in the final analysis guarantees the effectiveness of magic. For us, magic includes rational and mythical elements which are infinitely richer and more complex than any instinctive impulse. Motives must not be confused

/309 cont./

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with their effects, the "fable-making function" with myth, which is an interpretation of the world, and desire, the "logic of the body," with social myths which lead to the belief in the efficacy of magic. Thus it seems to us that Bergson's theory is not capable of interpreting Sarakatsani magic.

The explanation of magic advanced by Br. Malinowski is found chiefly in two of his studies: Magic, Science and Religion /cited in English/ (1925) and Myth in Primitive Psychology /cited in English/ (1926). In the first, Malinowski says that magic is based on desire and on affective elements: "All such acts...are prima faciae expressions of emotion" /quoted in English/ (p. 72). It is not created from an abstract concept about the existence of a universal force applicable in all concrete cases that occur--the mana (pp. 6, 77, and 78). If there is something universal in magic it is the uniformity of the process that leads to magical thought and behavior (pp. 78-79). The sociological analysis of the belief in magic shows that, under the influence of a strong emotion (vexations, dangers, fear, hatred, love, etc.), or from an obsessive desire, man reproduces in mimicry, through gestures, words or acts that which he desires (Extended expression of emotion /310/ in act and in word, p. 80 /quoted in English/). If a result is then produced, man believes that these same manifestations have created it. Then he thinks that during his emotional exaltation he had some sort of revelation which henceforth enables him to know how he must act in similar instances. This process determines the formation of rites and practices (p. 81). With respect to the problem of the acceptance of rites as efficacious despite the fact that they are not verified by experience, Malinowski gives us a psychological explanation. The memory of men always retains the cases that correspond to their hopes and represses those that refute them (p. 82). But there is more. Around each great magician a halo of glory is formed, woven from the accounts and commentaries of his exploits, his successes, his

/310 cont./

789 114 miraculous cures--what one might call the "current mythology" of magic. Thus, every practitioner finds support in tradition, in his connection with his predecessors, etc. (p. 83).

This last assertion gives Malinowski the opportunity to launch into a discussion of myth and its relationships to magic. But in order to examine this point we shall turn to his second essay (114) where his ideas

114. Translated into French in Moeurs et coutumes, pp. 97-154. The quotations that follow are taken from this translation. /those in the translation are from the original, however./

are developed more fully.

789 793 114 Malinowski maintains that "myth endows the performance of magic with worth and validity, in which myth blends with the belief in magical efficacy" (p. 146 /p. 141-2 Anchor Book edition/). How then does it act? "But once we have realized that myth serves principally to establish a sociological character, or a retrospective (115)

115. Our italics.

rural pattern of behavior, or the primeval supreme miracle of magic - it becomes clear that elements both of explanation and of interest in nature must be found in sacred legends. For a precedent accounts for subsequent cases, though it does so through an order of ideas entirely different from scientific relations of cause and effect, of motive and consequence" (pp. 149-150 /p. 144, Anchor Book edition/). This in not all. "Myth, as a statement of primeval reality which still lives in present-day life and as a justification by precedent, supplies a retrospective pattern of moral values, sociological order and magical belief...The function of myth briefly, is to strengthen tradition and endow it /311/ with greater value and prestige by tracing it back to a higher, better, a more supernatural reality of initial events" (pp. 151-152/p. 146 Anchor Book edition/).

/311 cont./

789 There is therefore not a shadow of doubt that for Malinowski myth
793 is an account formulated after the event, an idealization of a situation,
114 a means of justification which, while referring to the past, insures the present and the future. Contrary to attempts made before him, to which he refers (p. 111), he does not agree that myth can represent an attempt at knowledge and explanation of the world. "These stories /live/, "he says, "not by idle interest, not as fictitious or even as true narratives...(p. 111 /p. 108 Anchor Ed./). Nor are the stories about 'the origins of rites and customs' told in mere explanation of them...they always state a precedent..." (p. 113/p. 110 Anchor Ed./).

789 This established, it is time we ask what separates us from the theory
114 of Malinowski, what reasons prevent us from accepting it. First of all, because it reduces the creation of rites to a psycho-physiological automatism and the belief in their efficacy to a matter of selective memory. We do not say that these ideas are erroneous. The facts to which they refer may readily find a place in our explanation of the process by which Sarakatsani magical ideas are formed as well as in the explanation of the belief in the efficacy of magic. However, these two processes are much broader and they presuppose acts, mental states and social dynamics far richer in scope than those proposed by Malinowski.

In the second place, we find that the "current mythology" of magic, which basically corresponds to our social myth about the efficacy of magic, supports not only the accepted competence of the magician, but likewise every magical rite. Furthermore, Malinowski's description of the development of "current mythology" proves incomplete if compared to ours.

789 Finally, we cannot agree that myth is not an explanation of the world
793 and that it is created after the fact. It is not an explanation if con-
114 fronted with scientific explanations founded on the conceptualization of

/311 cont./

789 reality. But it is one if we recognize that it is based on, and
773 formulated in; a language of imagery. /312/ Between these two types
114 of explanation there is a difference in method, but there is none in the goal to be reached. We shall postpone proof of it until we come to our analysis of myth. For us, the cosmological myth exists before magic. (116)

116. We should like to recall in this connection the statement by Durkheim: De la définition du phénomène religieux, p. 22: "One cannot have rite without myth." It is what inspires Sarakatsani magic, its reason for existing, its point of departure.

789 In short, if Malinowski comes to the conclusions we have pointed out,
114 he does so under the pressure of his functionalism, his constant concern to find "what its good for"--which prevents him from getting at the core of what is, in the last analysis, mythical thought and hence magic.

The theory of M. Mauss, formulated in collaboration with H. Hubert in their study Esquisse d'une théorie générale de la magie, explains magic as emotion and collective forces. "Magic judgments are almost perfect synthetic a priori judgments," he says. "One links together the elements before every kind of experiment..." (p. 117). Magical judgements are not analytical because the magician "always introduces a heterogeneous term, irreducible to its logical analysis: force, power, physis or mana. The notion of magical efficacy is always present and it is that which... plays the role of the verb in the proposition" (p. 116). And the magical judgments are a priori because they are "anterior to magical experiments" (p. 117). Yet, because the very ideas of mana which confers on magic its [118] efficacy is also an a priori idea, "it functions like a category, it makes possible the magical ideas, just as categories make possible human ideas" (p. 111).

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789 The partial problems raised by these assertions are the following:
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114 1. Though it is the belief in the force, in the "physis," the mana, which leads to the idea of magic efficacy, it is still necessary to see what this mana consists of and how the belief in it originates. First of all, mana is a category of collective thinking. "It is not present in individual understanding, like time and space; the proof is that it has been possible to reduce it very much by the progress of civilization and that it varies...with societies" (p. 112). Mana is a social notion which grants certain beings or objects /313/ a value attached not "to the intrinsic qualities of things and persons, but to the place and the rank which are attributed to them by sovereign public opinion, by its prejudices. The qualities are social and not experimental" (p.114). To explain the origin of the belief in mana, Mauss refers to the origin of the common belief in the sacred and in mana. "We believe," he says, "that magic is like religion, a matter of feelings" (p. 114). And he adds: "Magic like religion is a play of value judgments," that is to say "aphorism based on feeling, attributing various qualities to various objects which enter its system...These value judgments...are the expression of social feelings..." (pp. 114-115).

2. Now, it is necessary to explain the process by which these "value judgments" concerning the effectiveness of mana and consequently of all magic are formed.

789 "Now," says Mauss, "only collective needs felt by whole group can
114 compel all the individuals of this group to bring about the same synthesis at the same time. The belief of all, their faith, results from the need of all, from their unanimous desire. The magical judgment is the object of social consent, the translation of a social need, the pressure of which unleashes the whole series of phenomena of collective psychology: this need felt by all, suggests to all the end...The synthesis of cause and effect is produced only by public opinion" (pp. 118-119). And a little farther on he concludes "that at the very root of magic there are affective

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789 114 states, generators of illusions, and that these states are not individual, but that they result from the blending of feelings peculiar to the individual with feelings of the whole society."

3. As for the general, a priori character of magical judgments, their foundation lies in the reflections which we have just cited. "A magical judgment is imposed by aquasi-convention which prescribes prejudicially that the sign creates the thing, the part the whole, the word the event and so on. Actually, it is essential that the same associations be reproduced in the minds of several individuals, or rather a mass of individuals" (p. 118). And we have seen in the preceding how Mauss conceives "the common synthesis" based on common needs.

789 798 114 These points established, two major questions remain for us to examine: /314/ first, how is this convention arrived at, this public opinion which sanctions mana and magic effectiveness in general? And second, if the analysis of a specific magic shows that the latter does not presuppose mana, then what is its vehicle of magic effectiveness, "the verb which binds the elements of the magic judgment?"

[191] To answer the first question, Mauss, citing examples from Madagascar, from the Dayaks or the Pitta-Pitta, tells us that the rite is carried out and a magician operates in a state of collective delirium, of general overstimulation, and that consequently it is this ambience which causes the rite or the medical magic to be accepted as efficacious (pp. 126-127).

[755] Similarly, for medical magic, "the rites which are carried out at home" (the former presuppose public magic) there is an analogous ambience. "We see there a tiny social group...with a head...the magician, and an embryo crowd which is all expectation, all dread, all hope, all credulity and all illusion" (p. 128).

With reference to the second question which coincides chiefly with Greek reality, Mauss (pp. 109 and 110) believes that, though the formerly universal notion of mana was later forgotten, some of it remains all the

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789 778 114 same in the "physis" of alchemists, the "dynamis" of astrologers "as a sort of material, non-individual, transmissible soul...which is still very close to mana" (p.110). And in another passage he tells us that in our societies there is a "state of social disquietude and sensibility in which the remnants of the ancient category of mana give substance" (p. 131), which is espressed in a belief in magic. We see thus that for Mauss, mana, even though scarcely perceptible, is inseparable from magic.

789 114 Now, if we have dwelt at length on Mauss's theory of magic it is because objective analysis of the facts of Sarakatsani magic, without the previous assumption of a theoretical position, has led us to conclusions similar to his--a fact which demonstrates the validity of this important theory. However, between the interpretation of this magic and the explanation that Mauss proposes for magic in general there are certain differences that we wish to make clear.

First of all, there is the problem of the process by which rites are formed and of the belief in magic effectiveness. It is obvious that Mauss vacillates among three different methods. He speaks of /315/ social consent, of public opinion, of states of collective exaltation. But the truth is that these solutions do not correspond to the demands of the problem. Consent as such is much too lifeless a procedure to be acceptable as creating the belief in magic, an area too unsettling, shot through with too many tumultuous psycho-social currents to be thought of as dominated by agreements. One clings to magic almost unconsciously after profound vibrations, and not by giving it one's consent. Moreover, from the sociological point of view, we cannot very well see how a society can succeed in obtaining the consent of all its members on a certain question, and how this decision remains valid for subsequent generations. We believe that this formula of Mauss' derives more from a vivid style than

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789 114 from his known concern for precision. With regard to public opinion, our comments are more or less the same. Opinions are probable beliefs, whereas the belief in magic is a strong, firm, unshakable belief leading to acts that are sometimes painful and arduous; simple opinion would never be in a position to motivate them. Finally, states of collective exaltation are not frequent and do not pertain to all magic. Among the Sarakatsani, specifically, perhaps excepting the dance of Pure Monday, it does not arouse and do not seems to be prompted by states of collective exaltation.

789 773 114 778 On the other hand, if we take the perspective of the myth, we see immediately that the latter is in a position to impose itself without asking the consent of anyone, that it inspires belief by its very nature, that it covers at the same time with the same effectiveness and the same effects, instances of exaltation or of simple collective emotions. Likewise, myth enables us to cope with the thorny problem of mana which becomes particularly acute when we try to explain the Sarakatsani kind of magic in which we have found nothing even remotely suggesting the existence of mana. One of two things /is true/: either this is magic without "mana" and one must seek elsewhere to justify it; or it is magic in which mana has been forgotten, and one must then find the entity that has replaced it. On this last point we might propose that it is tradition or inertia which, in the absence of mana, continue to sustain magic. But the critical mind of man /316/ would not be satisfied with the authority of tradition; and social inertia is a convenient expression that obscures the problem and is incompatible with reality. What is called inertia is only a dynamic equilibrium of society. If we now introduce myth in the analysis of these phenomena, we can understand that the notion of mana is not indispensable to magic, since myth, by definition, is "an extremely efficient agent in magic judgment," to use the language of Mauss. Myth can create magic by itself and replace the forgotten mana. And, what is

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789 773 114 798 more, mana as such needs myth to create belief in it. We venture to believe that this last point fills a gap which neither emotion, nor need, nor hope, nor illusion are in a position to fill. Magic is not a disposition of mind or the soul. It is a cultural product, crystallized, objectified, permanent, which, created once and for all, thereafter leads an autonomous life with respect to the motivations, mental states and methods that lie at its origins. Thus it needs a stable source of support other than the precarious situations that have given it birth. It is the same with other products of the mind, knowledge which is based on truth, art on beauty, morality on goodness, etc. etc. For magic, this source of support is myth. Nevertheless, we would be unjust to the great scholar and orignator of ideas that M. Mauss was if we did not metion that, well after his theory, he himself, in a statement included in the Bulletin de l'Institut Français de Sociologie of 9 June 1933, made the following remark: "The great effort that we made in the study of ritual lacks balance because we did not make a corresponding effort for mythology." (117)

117. Quoted in M. Leenhardt: Do Kamo, p. 9

789 114 There remains for us to consider one of the last great theories elucidating magic thought, that of L. Lévy-Bruhl. His main idea was the princple of participation, based on the specific mentality of primitives.

According to this author's Carnets posthumes to which we refer because this text represents the final stage in the evolution of his thinking, participation "is a consubstantiality, a communion, a very identity (identity-duality) between /317/ beings and objects. This intimate relation, so characteristic, between these beings and these objects is not generally represented. It is felt; but the objects themselves are represented" (p. 138). Always, according to him, participation is marked "by participation = essential community," identity felt between what participates and what is "participated in" (p. 141), and by

/317 cont./

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"participation-imitation," which is only a "prefiguration (materialization in advance)" (p. 142). However, the difference between the two "is singularly lessened...for the mimesis is the basis/of the identity?/ not by virtue of causality, but of consunstantiality, that is to say, of communicated, shared essence; in short, it is a true methesis...It has a metaphysical range: it does not express a relation between given beings or objects; it lays the foundation of its existence" (p. 146). "Primitives feel the participation and this is equivalent to the fulfillment of a desire" (pp. 144 and 206).

There is therefore no doubt that for Lévy-Bruhl's participation is hence all magic that this principle makes possible is a essential communion of a metaphysical order, and furthermore, a communion not represented but felt. This last point is merely the consequence of Lévy-Burhl's more general idea, to which he constantly and always returns, namely, that primitive mentality is a mystical mentality.

The question which now arises is to know whether this theory can explain Sarakatsani magic. Now, it is certain that these nomads do not believe in any kind of "participation," despite certain appearances. One
(124)
(825)
of our best informants, the old headman A. Katsoulas, replying to our questions that aimed at making this point explicit told us categorically, in connection with the problem of the snake which plays such an important role in Sarakatsani life, that "there is no compatibility between man and the snake and that the latter is entirely external to him."

In the second place, it is likewise certain that describing magical thinking as mystical does not make it any easier to explain. It is true that according to the sound remark by M. Leenhardt (p. XIV of his preface to the Notebooks), L. Lévy-Bruhl introduced this term to mean "the emotional fringe which borders all human experience and can even absorb it." But on this point M. Leenhardt adds: "The mystical epithet in not

/317 cont./

789 114 essential to this experience in which emotion suppresses rationality /318/ and common sense. Mythical and sometimes magical would often fit better" (p. XV). We believe that this thought of Leenhardt's, which relates to the demands of the problem, at once ontological and methodological, renders unnecessary any other critical evaluation on our part. Moreover, when the Sarakatsani proceed with the formation or acceptance of their mythologies, their immediate experiences are not mystical, but mythical. The terminology of Lévy-Bruhl confuses the outlook and obscures the reality of our problem.

Nevertheless, as was the case with Mauss, Lévy-Bruhl has clearly felt the importance of myth to the phenomena in question. However, he has oriented his observations toward the non-conceptual character of mythical thinking, its fluidity, its recreational value, etc., (118)

118. An idea very close to that of Plato: Timée /Timaeus/, 59 edition.

(pp. 73-74), without trying to go further.

These critical reflections on the theories enumerated do not exhaust the problem. We are thinking, particularly, of the theories that explain magic by psychoanalysis, which propose solutions in keeping with that discipline. (119)

119. These interpretations have been harshly criticized by anthropologists such as Malinowski: Moeurs et Coutumes... p. 101, and C. Lévi-Strauss: Anthropologie...p. 229.

789 121 We shall deliberately remain outside this circle of ideas, for neither our training nor the way in which we have conducted the enquiry permit us to enter this domain.

Yet these same critical reflections constitute a supplementary justification for our terminology. All through our analysis we have carefully avoided using the traditional terminology of magic, as for

/328 cont./

796 533 [532] [474] [596] 796 178 dead Lord," sung by the women. The latter erect in a hut a sort of catafalque on which they place a figurine representing Christ; then, seated all around, they perform a special hymn of popular origin, while the members of the Tséligato come, one after another, to prostrate themselves before the catafalque. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (2)

2. Ibid., A. I. p. ρξδ'.

who reports this custom which has now disappeared, it is another instance of a survival of Dionysian beliefs or /beliefs/ related to the death of the companion of the mother's Goddess, here incorporated in the worship of [114] the Lord. However, it seems to us that this explanation is exaggerated. From our viewpoint, one must see in it a manifestation Sarakatsani religiosity and the omni-functionalism of their society. For Greeks in 796 general, Holy Week and Easter are the most important religious festivals 171 of the year, and everyone takes active part in them. /329/ Greek piety is such that in many villages the women gather at the church on Good Friday and, between the morning and evening service, they watch at the tomb of the Lord, represented according to the canons, while chanting laments of popular origin. (3)

3. Cf. Β. ΣΤΑΜΟΥΛΗ-ΣΑΡΑΝΤΗ : Ὁ Θάνατος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, pp. 249-253 and the bibliography drawn up by Στ. ΚΥΡΙΑΚΙΔΗΣ — Σ. ΣΥΚΟΥΛΙΩΤΗΣ : Ὁ Θάνατος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, p. 354-330.

[796] An identical ritual is also performed on 15 August, the day of the death of the Holy Virgin who is very much venerated in the nation and who, according to the Byzantine tradition, is leader /"stratège"/ of the nation. 171 The laments chanted by our nomads on these occasions are meant to conform 796 to these more general customs that have their origin in Christianity and 171 in popular devotion and not elsewhere. Of course, and as a hypothesis, 178 comparisons between the ancient cults of Dionysus, etc., and the Christian

/332 cont./

796 755 782 262 the people who attended the service and who must make prayers conforming to the wishes of those who organized the ceremony.

Let us note that the killing and common consumption of a lamb 796 262 585 795 764 are required on two other occasions, marriage and baptism, and that, in addition, the same practice is found in the funeral customs of which we shall speak later on.

The explanation of these customs is very simple. Semantics is very 782 196 useful to us on this point. To indicate the solemn putting to death of the lamb, the Sarakatsani use the Turkish word courbani or the Greek thusia which means "sacrifice."

At first glance one might be tempted by the hypothesis that the term "sacrifice" has merely an economic meaning--/333/ the death of any animal representing a privation for the herder. This interpretation, (114) very incomplete if not biased, is inadequate.

782 The context in which the sacrifice takes place suggests three hypotheses: the sacrifice is first of all an offering to divine forces.

It is also a gift to an outside visitor. Finally, it is an immolation bound up with certain circumstances of transition.

One fact among those we have mentioned is particularly revealing in connections with the ideas determining these customs. It is the offering of lambs to the church because of a vow or under pressure of a serious illness. In both cases a life is offered to ward off the threats against existence and to safeguard the life of the group or of an individual. There is here an exchange of potentialities which ethnography and the history of religions have known for a long time.

The offering of a life to ensure a favorable outcome in new 782 191 situations originates from the same concern. The immolation of animals at the time something new materializes, for example, the foundations of a new house is known in Greek custom. And in Hellenic folklore there is a

/334 cont./

782 182 771 On the other hand, the thesis of Van der Leeuw seems to possess the attributes of a good explanatory hypothesis and, in this form, it may be accepted. (10)

10. In one passage, Madame Hadjimichali (ibid., A.I., p. [illegible]), probably influenced by W. Robertson Smith: La Religion des Sémites /The religion of the Semites/, and also by the "totemic repast" of psychoanalytical theory, speaks of "the sacred animal which is eaten by its worshippers so that the entire Sarakatsani family may partakes of its strength, in order to transmit the latter to the flocks." This interpretation of the sacrifice of the lamb does not seem to us justified, for it presupposes totemism. Now, in Greece no trace of totemism has been found, despite assertions to the contrary by G. Thomson: Eschyle--Athènes, Greek translation p. 25.--See J.E. Harrison: Greek Religion, /cited in English/, chapter III and her explanation of the sacrifice during antiquity. Moreover, scientific criticism has shown that the hypothesis of the "totemic repast" does not correspond to reality. R. Bastide: Sociologie et Psychoanalyse, p. 87, says in particular that "the only cases known of the totemic ropast are the sacrifices of the camel among the Bedouins studied by R. Smith (and even that required a partial restoration) the ceremonies of the Intichiuma of the Australian Aranda. It is completely unknown, hundreds of other totemic tribes scattered throughout the world. And it is not certain that the Aranda give us the most archaic form of totemism." Identical critical reflections are found in M. Nilsson: Ἑλληνική Λαϊκή Λατρεία, p. 71, who also refers to J. Harrison: Prolegomena, p. 84.

(114)

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/342 cont./

Easter, etc.) a member of the Tséligato, preferably a woman, must go to church, attend mass and represent the group whose constant work prevents the carrying-out of this duty.

/343/ All the decisive moments of life, birth, baptism, marriage, death, represent so many occasions when the presence of a priest is required. Though authors like M. Skafidas (18)

18. Ibid., 1 107.

and Madame Hadjimichali, (19)

Fig. 183

/343 cont./

19. See Ibid., A. I., p. ρξσ'.

the first in connection with marriage, the second in connection with burial, state the contrary, we were able to confirm that no conjugal union is contracted on the mere /344/ decision of the Tséligas and without a religious service, and that no burial takes place outside cemeteries. The priest is furthermore called upon to perform his ministrations at the time of the seasonal migrations, before departure, so that "the way is opened" and also in connection with the building of a new konakia. On these occasions he performs the service of "the holy water," according to the Orthodox rite.

But the phenomenon which shows best of all the intensity of Sarakatsani religiosity can be observed when someone dies without the aid of the last sacrements. For fear that the deceased will face the Supreme Judge without having fulfilled the last duty of a Christian, Sarakatsani society prescribes that in a corner of the hut a glass of wine be placed which is kept for three days, in order to permit the deceased's soul to come and partake of communion! In this practice, religion and the omni-functionalism of Sarakatsani society meet, as we have seen it do above and in connection with the practice of lamentations for the Lord.

To all this is added a myth reported by C. Hoeg which shows the pride of the Sarakatsani "in belonging to the true religion." "At the time we first came into being," our herders relate, "God asked us whether we preferred money, beauty or Christianity. We chose Christianity, the Jews money and the Turks beauty."

Nevertheless, in our observation of Sarakatsani life other facts seem to contradict these assertions. By their own confession, no Sarakatsani was ever ordained a priest. This statement was repeated to us by all the groups studied and was spoken with an air of pride and malice! Then again, their folklore is very rich in tales and anecdotes satirizing the clergy. By way of example we briefly reproduce the following:

/346 cont./

Doubtless a Sarakatsani joke about themselves for an ever lively and mocking spirit manifest itself at every turn, but also /an expression of/ detachment with regard to sacred matters, based on the belligerent nature of these nomads resulting from their condition, which allows them effectively to brave men, nature and the supernatural.

* * * *

The Sarakatsani is not a mystic. His undeniable religiosity is not piety, but, according to the famous formula of R. Otto, (20)

20. See R. Otto: Le Sacré, p. 28 f.

it is linked to the mysterium tremendum /great mystery/ and does not emanate from a "pure experience of the sacred" which unites man to the universal creator. He must evoke divine forces, he must engage them by certain manipulations to intervene in favor of such and such a solution, he must be in conformity with the laws of the Church, for a person has a soul and must render an account some day. But being lifted up to the sacred is an idea that does not touch the spirit of the Sarakatsani to whom mystical ecstasy is a psychic state of this kind; thus, the spirit of the Athenians listening on the Areopagus to Saint Paul's sermon made them laugh when the orator began to speak of the resurrection of the dead! Nevertheless, it would be excessive to consider this thought an explanation, since an analysis of this phenomenon in particular has not yet been made. Yet the Sarakatsani, a man of action above all, plunged in insecurity, as /347/ has been emphasized elsewhere, seeks to overcome obstacles by his beliefs and his practices. His religiosity and his attachment to ritual are thus explained up to a certain point by this fact. (21)

21. Madame Hadjimichali, in her work, A. I., p. ρλξ′ f., maintains that the Sarakatsani, in their interpretation of Christianity, basically accept only the existence of the

/347 cont./

771 Lord and not that of the Trinity; that they recognize
776 as saints only those of the male sex whom they
114 elevate to the rank of deity. We believe that no
fact relative to their lives permits one to accept
771 this theory. Madame Hadjimichali gives as justifi-
776 cation, on the one hand, the fact that the Sarakatsani
776 honor the Lord exclusively, and on the other hand, that
114 in their calendar of holidays only the Holy Virgin and
171 Saint Paraskevi appear. Now, within the framework of
Christian practices the Lord generally occupies first place
in the countries This is a universal phenomenon. As
for the holidays of female saints, the lack of which
Madame Hadjimichali finds explained in the androcratic
form of Sarakatsani society which is reflected in their
religion, we find that the calendar of popular holidays
of the Hellenic people, in general, has only five
festivals of female saints. See: G. Megas:
Ἑλληνικαὶ Ἑορταί, index. One therefore sees that this
phenomenon is not specifically Sarakatsani, but that it
comes from the entire Greek religious phenomenon, the more
so since wherever the holidays there are local factors that
that have determined their adoption. All this to establish
the problem of Sarakatsani religion in its true dimensions.
On the other hand, we quite agree with Madame Hadjimichali
when she says (p. ΡΛΖ') that the Sarakatsani remain faithful
to their ancient beliefs, for these ensure them protection.
It is true that official Christianity does not put forward
religious forces to solve practical problems. This explains
syncretism. It is called upon to make up for this lack.

/352 cont./

828 81 (153) KNOWLEDGE PERTAINING TO THE NATURE AND PHYSIOLOGY OF MEN AND ANIMALS.

This knowledge has its source in the observation of nature and of life, in experience and in reasoning based on common sense. Knowledge thus takes shape which accumulates in the course of time and is transmitted by tradition from one generation to the other.

811 114 We are not unaware that, according to certain theorists, technology is not founded on true knowledge, for the "primitive" does not conceptualize reality, and causality /353/ is foreign to him. (2)

2. See G. Davey: Sociologues d'hier..., p. 228 f., presenting theories of L. Lévy-Bruhl: La mentalité primitive pp. 93 and 350-351, who says that technology is intuition and instinct, action for a particular occasion.--D'Espinas: Origines de la technologie, p. 47, asserting that the tool is an extension of the worker's limbs and that he never thinks of its effectiveness.--L. Brunschvicg: L'expérience humaine et la causalité physique, p. 92, proposing that the non-civilized order (hunting, fishing, herding, manufacture) without being able to conclude that this confidence is actually an outcropping of his consciousness.--Goldenweiser: Early civilisation /cited in English/, pp. 406-407 who speaks of an independence of technical progress in relation to intellectual progress. For him, the logic of technology is a logic of nature, unconsciously imposed on the human mind by action.

But none of these theories seems to us acceptable, and not only in the Sarakatsani case, but for all human culture. From the moment man intervenes and acts on matter by transforming it according to his own wishes to useful ends andon the basis of physical properties, it is impossible

/353 cont./

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114 for us not to grant him the existence of a certain number of thoughts verified or inspired by experience, about his action. To bend or harden a piece of wood by heating it comes neither from automatic instinct nor from simple observation. The latter is blind when it is not guided by intelligence. Likewise, it is impossible to believe that technical activity, like all other activities, does not affect intellectual progress. The life of man cannot be divided into compartments. His different "experiences" act on each other, homo faber /man the maker/ exerting his influence on homo sapiens /man the knower/ and the reverse. (3)

3. See, for example, A.-J. Piaget: La psychologie de l'intelligence, pp. 139-141 and passim.

We know very well that the concepts and ideas of the "primitive" are different from those which cause science to advance. But between instinct or automatism and scientific conceptualization there is no lack of intellectual life; an intellecutal life is exhibited there which truly merits this name, as is shown by the existence of effective, directed, consciously deliberate action. Of course, this intellectual life does not have the same breadth and effectiveness as science. it is none the less of the same nature as the intellectual, creative life of scientific knowledge, though its modalities are different. We have the impression (perhaps erroneous) that the authors cited have never had occasion to follow closely the working technique of a "primitive" and to discuss it with him. It is obvious that technology rests on understanding, the whole of which constitutes a sort of knowledge.

/354/ Knowledge, the bearers of which, as far as these nomads are concerned, are all the Sarakatsani. Its very creation occurs collectively. Borrowing the terminology of Gurvitch, but partly disagreeing with him on the forms in which this knowledge appears, (4)

/354 cont./

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4. See G. Gurvitch: Ibid., pp. 128-219, /who/ says that technical knowledge is more intuitive than reflective, more symbolic than effective. Now, we do not see the techniques of our herders as based on intuition and symbolism.

we should say that it is rational, reflective and adequate. That is exactly what makes it effective.

KNOWLEDGE PERTAINING TO THE HUMAN ENVIRONMENT AND COLLECTIVE LIFE.

829 Our nomads are conscious of what they are and of the detailed aspects of their life, as their socio-economic organization, their law and their morality well show. They also know that they are
829 186 different from the "others," a fact which justifies their rules of marriage, the prohibition of relations with other nomads, their mistrust of surrounding society--though they are linked to them on the national level.

Observation and experience, and even common sense also nourish these perceptions, the influence of which on individual and collective behavior is certain. Of course, ideological and mythical elements, that we are already familiar with appear here once again, expressed in the opinion that they form of themselves, sublimating /sic: en sublimant/ their qualities and their way of life, which is the best of all, and in their attitudes toward non-Sarakatsani, /which is/ full of contempt, mistrust, suspicion, repugnance (the peasants, prostrate before the Turk, are always ready "to swindle the innocent Sarakatsani"; the Koutsovalaque "smell bad"; literally they are "rotten" /des salauds/; "if you see a Koutsovalaque prepare his grave for him," they say). The internal dynamic of their own group and the relations of their group with others is clearly reflected here.

829 562 Furthermore, the know-how of the men plays a very important role

/367 cont./

533 see in this explanation an "ideological" sublimation of suppressed love--a feeling common to human nature and thus not unknown to the Sarakatsani.

[177] All the songs sung on this occasion are not necessarily of Sarakatsani origin; a certain number of them come from general Greek folklore.

533 Songs of the non-ritual dance: these songs too are typically not
535 Sarakatsani, like the dances, which are common in the country (Crete
[177] and the islands excepted). However, there is a dance known as the "dance of three" which is the Sarakatsani's own and is performed to a Sarakatsani song.

533 Songs accompanying some kinds of work: during the seasonal migrations
461 the monotony of the march is often broken by song. The same is true of shearing.

533 A second "free" artistic manifestation among the Sarakatsani
461 involves tunes played by the shepherds on their flutes during the hours
233 of pasturing--rather sad, tunes drawn-out and full of longing. According
(534) to Madame Hadjimichali, (3)

3. Ibid., t. I, vol. II, pp. 144-145.

the shepherds themselves say that they reproduce on their flutes the
[114] sound of the small bells. We believe that this testimony is musically incorrect. The flocks recognize the sounds of the flute and gather around the shepherd as they gather around the large bell of the ram. It is a matter of conditioning the animals by sounds, a conditioning which, though common to both cases, in no way assumes an artistic
533 ressemblance between one and the other. And if the tunes played /368/
233 on the flute with their cadences and trills often evoke the sounds of the bells of the flocks which, heard from a distance, seem to form musical phrases including cadences and trills, it must nevertheless be

/368 cont./

533 [233] recognized that the tunes of the flute do not constitute descriptive music. They have a content of their own, very distinct and autonomous, emanating from the musical disposition of these herders. Proof lies in the fact that the Sarakatsani are very sensitive to the music of the flutes. Madame Hadjimichali reports that while listening to it [152] they sometimes weep. They themselves say that the flute forces the player "to enter into it." Purely descriptive music would not be able to exert such an influence on feeling.

531 532

Fig. 104

Fig. 105

Fig. 106

Sculpture in wood, except for the symbols on crooks and distaffs, is also "free." The motifs engraved on different objects are geometric designs, figures of men and animals and plants subjects. (4)

531 532 114 [178]

4. Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., t. I, vol. II, pp. 359-452, presents a detailed study of the wooden sculpture of the Sarakatsani. In a superb series of photographs and drawings she introduces us to the art of our herders and gives excellent comments on the morphology of the decorated objects. This part of her work is all the more valuable in that it deals

531 /368 cont./
532 with an art that has almost entirely disappeared at the
114 present time.
178 /369/ Finally, it is necessary to mention the non-symbolic woven
538 motifs and the narratives and tales. The latter, works of oral literature, recount stories in which kings, archons, ladies, beautiful girls, sorcerers, evil spirits, ogres, fairies, etc., take an active part and come face to face in intrigues which end in the triumph of good over evil, of the persecuted beauty over the evil sorcerer, of man over evil spirits. (5)

5. C. Höeg: in the work cited reproduces a large number of Sarakatsani tales and narratives.

However, there is another kind of account and narrative which, in addition to their character and the talent of the narrator, show a utilitarian aspect and, on the basis of this fact, belong to the "incorporated" art. In the course of the command feasts organized for the
538 entire family on the occasion of the major holidays, the old men are
596 invited to tell, for the sake of the young generations, stories that extol
687 the conduct of the ancients in all kinds of circumstances. Thus, their
867 descendants find at their disposal models of behavior derived from their ancestors, which will guide them throughout life along the lines dictated and required by tradition. Let us emphasize that this is one of the ways
[626] the extended family, of which we have already spoken, functions to promote social control.

* * * *

53 The origins of the art existing among the Sarakatsani thus vary according to the nature of its manifestations. When it is "incorporated," it is a purely Sarakatsani art. When it is "free" we rediscover cultural
[177] borrowings, songs and motifs coming from other Greek social environments, however without profoundly altering the Sarakatsani artistic style.

/389 cont./

000 the worst weather. We understand, too, the precedence of the elders
182 over the younger ones--on the basis of their fund of experience; they
561 are guardians of secrets that enable them successfully to face
182 critical moments. However, we cannot agree that the Sarakatsani
596 invented the extended quasi-patriarchal family. It has been known to
114 Greek tradition and Christianity for a long time. That is where, from
197 all evidence, the Sarakatsani borrowed the model of it.

182 Cooperation and the suppression of individualism will be examined
476 first from the aspect of the economic system. The points that we
233 developed in the preceding make very clear the undeniable fact that cooperation is the most effective condition for the solution of the economic problems of our herders. We fail to see how livestock raising carried out under the conditions mentioned could make room for individualism. The individual would have no chance of survival if left to his own resources, and the antagonisms inherent in individualism would be catastrophic in the context in question. Consequently, this conviction having been established and put into practice, every subsequent individualistic manifestation would have to be forbidden in order not to endanger the lives of all. On the other hand, herding as a technology demands the cooperation that kinship as an intimate inter-human bond encourages in its turn.

182 --Community and solidarity are the expression, on the strictly social
621 plane, of the idea of cooperation and the suppression of individualism.
476 They are compulsory for the same reasons that have imposed the principle
[181] of kinship. They likewise constitute high social and moral values.

182 --Cosmology and anthropology, founded on the ancient myths of the
773 Mother-Goddess, find justification for their survival among the Sarakatsani in the fact that Sarakatsani knowledge is limited and the myths supplement it."

/406 cont./

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(114)

5. We may be criticized, and rightly so, for having silently passed over another decisive factor of change in the Sarakatsani type of life. This is "acculturation." We should like to explain that our silence in this matter is due to the fact that we have for several years been preparing a special study on this problem, which will soon appear.

Hence a dramatic struggle of these strained elements toward the quest for a new formula.

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CONCLUSION

Homo Saracatsanus

121 To know the Sarakatsani in his totality and on the basis of his socio-cultural works, this has been the objective we set ourselves in presenting this work. An ambitious goal, to be sure (more especially since the existing scientific means permit only approximations which rest on modest contributions), but a natural result of this anthropological study.

We shall now try to draw the profile of the Sarakatsani, the picture of the man who created the socio-cultural reality that we have analyzed and who, in turn, has been created by his own creations. In order to do this we shall turn to what is original and distinctive in him. This picture we have called homo saracatsanus, even though current terminology designates with similar words entire species and not simply variants. May we be pardoned for the heresy in the name of the evocative power of the formula.

We shall not go back to the works of the Sarakatsani in order not to repeat ourselves. We shall consider this dimension of our present problem as known. We shall proceed from another dimension which we shall call "Sarakatsani Anthropology" and which we can circumscribe in a formula that will at the same time outline the plan of our account.